

Cover Page

**Literature Review for Building the Engine of Community Development in Detroit
(DRAFT)**

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Introduction

This report presents results of (a) three rounds of literature reviews (Round 1: through May-June; Round 2 through July; Round 3 through August), reviewing nearly 600 peer-reviewed scholarly articles, and (b) site visits to Cleveland in February and to Boston, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia in September.

Our primary content materials are from the literature. While we put more emphasis on empirical findings, we also incorporated theoretical information to broaden our perspectives on community development. Data from our site visits supplement our literature review results.

To guide our literature review, we used the seven system elements from Building the Engine of Community Development in Detroit (BECDD) (see Appendix 1), which are 1) system governance, 2) system capitalization, 3) data and evaluation, 4) city engagement, 5) capacity building and certification, 6) neighborhood voice, and 7) leadership and career pipeline.

The seven elements are the results of the Phase 1 of the BECDD city-wide collaborative effort in 2016. Our study also includes social cohesion, as it was also a significant outcome of the BECDD Phase 1.

The purpose of our study is to learn from the literature about each of the seven elements and social cohesion. Is there any evidence that supports the seven elements, validates them, or verifies any missing elements? Are there any useful examples of the seven elements that might be worthy of further discussion among practitioners and policymakers in Detroit? How important is social cohesion to the seven elements and to community development in general? These are some of the potentially useful questions we wanted to investigate through our review.

What follows is the executive summary of our entire study. The summary will highlight key lessons learned from the literature and selected examples of the seven elements that deserve further investigation.

Executive Summary

Introduction

Community development draws extensively upon accomplishments and lessons learned from a wide range of disciplines including non-profit development, economics, urban planning, community psychology, social work, public policy, sociology, management, public health, and environmental science, to name just a few (Phillips and Pittman 2014). Community development is a very broad-based field, primarily because it touches on various sectors affecting the city's long term vitality (Wolf-Powers (2014)2014). Scholars have long suggested that community is defined not only relationally (e.g. networks) but also geographically, being affected by social, economic, environmental, and political forces (Nasar and Julian 1995). It is then not surprising to learn that practitioners, inevitably, often strive to address both human development (e.g., community organizing) and physical development (e.g., creating vital neighborhood) simultaneously or together in community development (Luluquisen and Pettis 2014). The literature informs us that an ecosystem consisting of various support mechanisms and capitalization (institutional, educational, social, and financial) is central to building capacity in people (e.g., residents) and place (e.g., neighborhood), which are, of course, two key building blocks essential to prosperous city-making (Jakes et. al. 2015).

Taken together, the BECDD participants believe that community development is critical to city-building effort. Therefore, the participants initiated an effort to develop an evolving system in a collaborative manner that supports healthy and sustainable community development in Detroit. The BECDD participants then proposed seven system elements in 2016.

Key lessons learned from the literature are highlighted below.

1. Literature Support for the Seven System Elements

The seven system elements, when they are defined broadly, receive general support from the literature. While only limited aspects of recent community development systems in Cleveland, Boston, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia have been reported in the peer-reviewed scholarly articles, our site visits to those cities and our in-depth literature review, taken in aggregate, validate the importance or necessity of proposed elements.

Element 1: System Governance

The literature stresses the need for an intermediary that promotes city-wide system governance for community development. Being an active part of such a system provides legitimacy to community development organizations. Legitimacy develops from a combination of interpersonal relationships, shared development narratives (for example Indianapolis's shared narrative in community development), and achievement of demonstrable practical outcomes (Molden, et al. 2016).

Element 2: System Capitalization

Some articles report on Cleveland's city-wide and public-private partnerships in capitalization and creative use of Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) funds. Such an approach has been recommended by various sources in general, although Cleveland's success is not yet fully validated in the literature. The literature suggests that diverse and dependable sources of organizational funding are one of the most consistent characteristics of successful organizations (Walker, McCarthy 2010; Rohe, Bratt 2003, Bratt, Rohe 2005). The literature also suggests that signs of investment from the government create a domino effect on adjacent properties as those owners become confident on the future of the neighborhood and begin repairing and improving their properties (Beck Pooley, 2013).

Element 3: Data Evaluation

The literature stresses that approval of indicators from the community is a key to the success in data evaluation process. Other community-based approaches such as setting neighborhood boundaries that make logical sense to community organizations (as opposed to census tracts, for example), and overlaying economic data like the unemployment rate, etc., are likely to encourage the community to have a sense of ownership about the community progress assessment and actively participate in the evaluation process (Parenteau et al. 2008). All of this, as the literature suggests, should be done with open and committed sharing of data by the city government (e.g., that of Milwaukee), even when they know it has the potential to be used to challenge their own policies (Ghose, 2003). As to organizational assessment, the risks of diversifying into service areas beyond traditional expertise can lead to failed ventures, which can create distrust and further lack of financial support. Being honest with support communities about any financial issues is also listed as a key to organizational success in the literature (Bratt & Rohe 2005).

Element 4: City Engagement

The literature recommends moving beyond the "thin" relationships that exist between many community development organizations (CDOs) and their local government and moving to a more robust collaboration. It is suggested that greater collaboration can be established through open communication and trust and by agreeing on a planned strategy to create a "comprehensive and strategic" approach (Rich, Giles, and Stern. 2001). Such successful partnerships, according to research, have created improved service delivery, increased citizen satisfaction, and more trust in the government. The literature also reports that city officials felt most accountable to their citizens in cities with higher levels of citizen attendance at CDBG and budget hearings (Milam Handley and Howell-Moroney, 2010).

Element 5: Organizational Capacity Building and Certification

The literature generally supports the idea that capacity building consists of member capacity, organizational capacity, programmatic capacity, relational capacity, resource capacity, and catalytic capacity (Glickman and Servon, 1998). Other sources suggest capacity building as both the focus on skills, resources, and problem-solving abilities, and participation of individual community members, in a process of relationship building, community planning, decision making, and action (Chaskin, 2001). A recurring theme is that collaboration with other organizations (be it directly, as in co-managing an initiative, or indirectly, as in guidance and mentorship, or social, as in exchanging ideas), is a key factor in capacity building success (Chaskin, 2001; Carman, Fredericks, 2010; Glickman, Servon, 1998). To build collaborative capacity and catalytic capacity, both of which maximize collective impact, various types of “learning networks” have been suggested in the literature (Carman, Fredericks, 2010). Other sources report lack of communication and distrust between organizations reasons for organizational failure or downsizing at a rate higher than other cities (Dewar, Thomas, 2013; Thomson, Etienne, 2016).

Element 6: Neighborhood Voice

There is a wide support from the literature that developing a broad coalition and building consensus among members is important to achieving goals established by any cross-sector initiatives or partnerships (Hutson, 2013; Bonds et al., 2015). It is important for organizations to gain support from residents from the start, and deliver on promises to establish legitimacy and develop trust with the community (Bonds et al., 2015). Some authors assert that using (social media) networks produces the best results when trying to build community, strengthen social capital, access multiple perspectives, build and share knowledge and best practices, and mobilize people and resources around an issue (Scearce et al. 2010).

Element 7: Leadership/Career Pipeline

While it is difficult to find specific examples of pipelines in the literature, a number of sources offer principles of an effective educational program. Their recommendations include flexibility of the program, being open to multiple strategies, remaining attentive to see what works best. It seems essential to communicate the value of training to staff members, to provide incentives to encourage them, to connect the context of the training with the content provided, to communicate accurate goals and objectives so as to allow staff to select the training that help them the most, and to integrate training with organizational capacity building to assure that as staff turns over, there is a human capacity system remaining in place (Pitcoff, 2004). The literature stresses the value of peer learning, peer exchange, coaching, and workshops in a place away from a practitioner’s home organization, and other models that build on each other. Other sources suggest that lessons from training need to be specific enough so that staff can apply them immediately, but broad enough so they can be used again in the future.

What that implies is that the best training is about frameworks that can be used in many different situations, rather than the nitty-gritty details about everything (Pitcoff, 2004).

2. Literature Support for Cleveland, Boston, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia

We have found more peer-reviewed sources about Cleveland and Boston than about Indianapolis and Philadelphia. When we define the BECDD seven elements more broadly, the literature seems to offer general support for community development strategies in these four cities, and view them as more desirable or beneficial. Not all of the current community development systems in these cities are fully studied or validated yet in the literature. However, the general findings from the literature and our site visits to these four cities collectively suggest that their systems include most of the seven elements and those systems appear to be generally beneficial (or even highly beneficial in some cases) to community development in their respective city.

Several articles suggest that Cleveland's system is more inclusive, being described by outsiders as "one system" where CDCs, broad-based coalitions and private and public resources work together to support community development activities (Dewar, 2013, Thomson, Etienne, 2016, Casey, 2014). This seems to be validated by the key players we met in Cleveland during our site visit in February 2017.

The figure (1) below comparatively summarizes the four cities' relationships to the seven elements, although it is not based on a scientific comparison, because not all the data necessary for analysis are available from the literature.

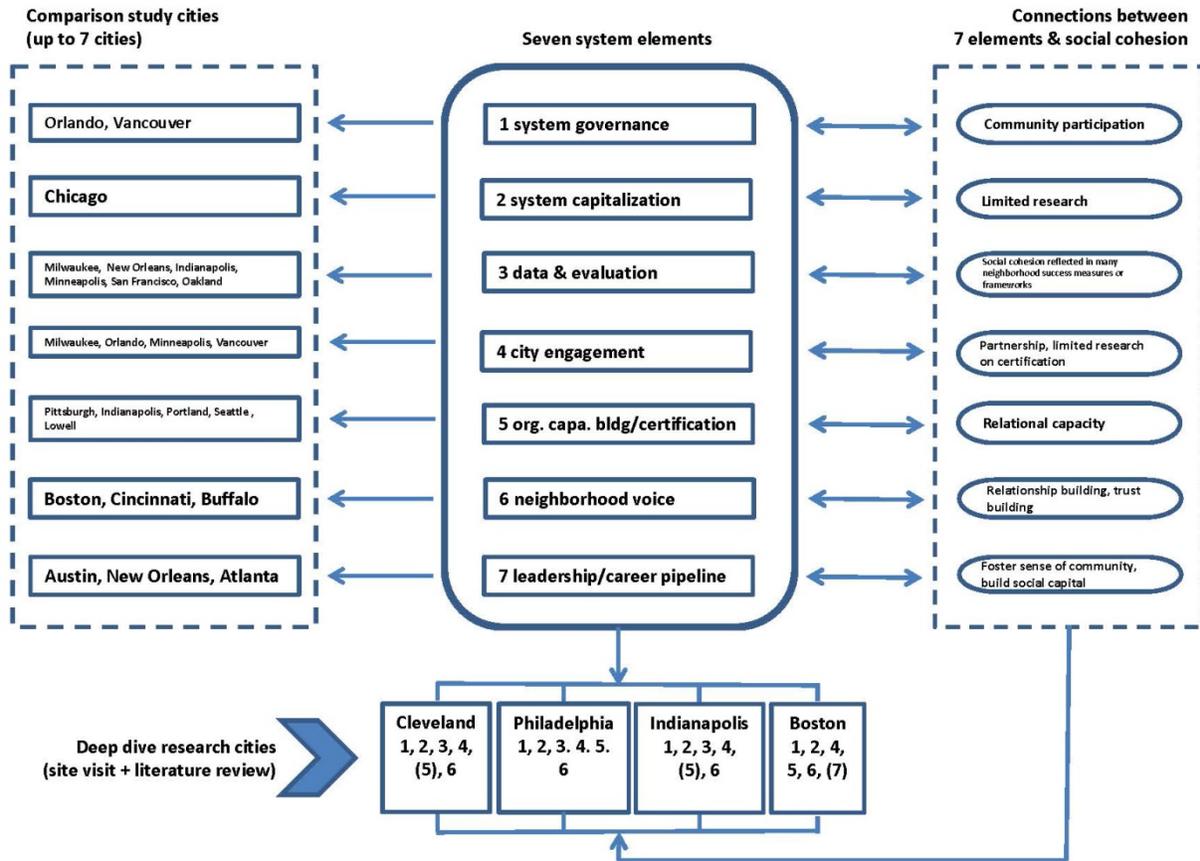


Figure 1: Seven System Elements, Social Cohesion & Case Studies

3. Social Cohesion and Its Importance to Community Development and the Seven Elements

The following sections highlight some of the key findings of the literature review on social cohesion and its relationship to community development and the seven elements.

Various Terms:

We reviewed roughly 150 peer-reviewed articles relevant to social cohesion. Most of them came from social science and medicine, as shown below.

Subject area (%)	
Social Sciences	42
Medicine	35
Psychology	12
Arts and Humanities	6
Environmental Science	5

Study location (%):	
USA	40
Europe	40
Other continents	20

It is not too surprising to learn that articles in different fields are likely to use somewhat different terms for social cohesion. Some of the examples include social cohesion (e.g., medicine, psychology), neighborhood cohesion (e.g., environmental science), and neighborhood social cohesion, to name three.

Definition:

We have learned that there is a lack of consensus regarding the theoretical conceptualization of social cohesion as the construct. While it is difficult to tell which definition is most popular in the literature, definitions that are frequently mentioned in the literature include social cohesion (defined as social capital), social capital (obtaining support through indirect ties, such as from neighbors), social cohesion (defined as interdependencies among neighbors), sense of community, building closer knit communities, community identity, and collective action (Chan Et al. 2006).

Constituting Elements:

Given such diverse definitions, it follows that operationalization, dimensions, or constituting elements of social cohesion can be equally diverse or complex. The following types of operationalization or groups of constituting elements are frequently found in the literature.

- (1) sense of community, (2) interpersonal trust, and (3) formal and informal interactions
- (1) social relations, (2) identification with the geographical unit, and (3) orientation towards the common good
- (1) the extent of perceived inequalities, (2) the level of societal trust, and (3) the strength of people's adherence to their local identity
- (1) trust, (2) informal help, (3) voluntary work, and (4) neighborhood contacts
- (1) contact frequency with one's neighbors, (2) tolerance to neighbors of a different race, (3) generalized social trust (4) and volunteering
- (1) trust, (2) attachment, (3) practical help, and (4) tolerance or respect

While differences exist among the various operationalizations listed above, a few commonalities seem to emerge: Trust building, sociability, bonding, attachment, and identity (see Figure 2).

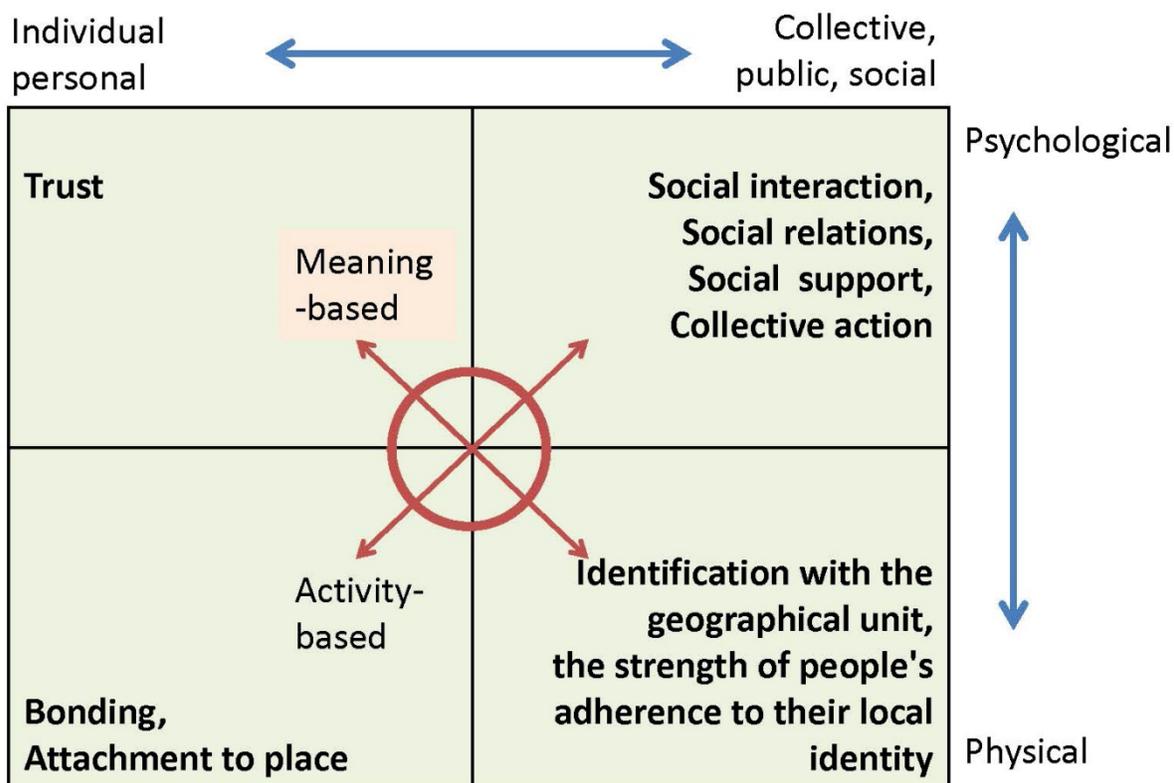


Figure 2: Domains/Elements of Social Cohesion and their Hypothesized Relationships

Determinants, Positive Consequences, Negative Consequences:

According to the literature, the following determinants influence social cohesion: Shared values, quality of life, urban governance (primarily public participation), inequality, economic deprivation, ethnic diversity, social disorganization, neighborhood disorder, perceived danger, neighborhood security and safety, and concentrated disadvantage (e.g., heavy traffic).

While the literature reports that social exclusion can be among the negative consequences of social cohesion, some of the positive consequences include general benefits on physical and mental health (e.g., decrease in stroke, depression, suicide attempts, cumulative risk of disease, child neglect and abuse, atherosclerosis, PTSD, smoking, not walking for exercise); increase in youth participation in physical activity, improvement in general health status of adolescents residing in neighborhoods with a high concentration of racial minorities; strengthening companionship of older adults who live alone, well-being of older adults; and reduced food insecurity in older adults (Rios, Zautra, 2011, Cradock et al. 2008, Kim et al. 2013, Bjornstorm et al. 2013, Echeverria et al., 2007, Baum, 2009)..

Among the more common findings from the literature is that social cohesion has a protective effect that moderates or influences the relationship or the associations between external factors (e.g., neighborhood blight, socioeconomic inequalities, fear of crime, neighborhood disorder, financial difficulties) and internal, personal, psychological factors (e.g., physical and mental health, psychological distress); or reduces the influence of the former (external factors) on the latter (internal, personal, or psychological factors). In a similar vein, neighborhood disorder and perceived cohesion interact to influence physical and mental health, and socioeconomic disadvantage and neighborhood social cohesion affect homicide risks (Johns et al 2011, Erdem et al. 2015, Erdem et al. 2016, Fone et al., 2007) (see Figure 3).

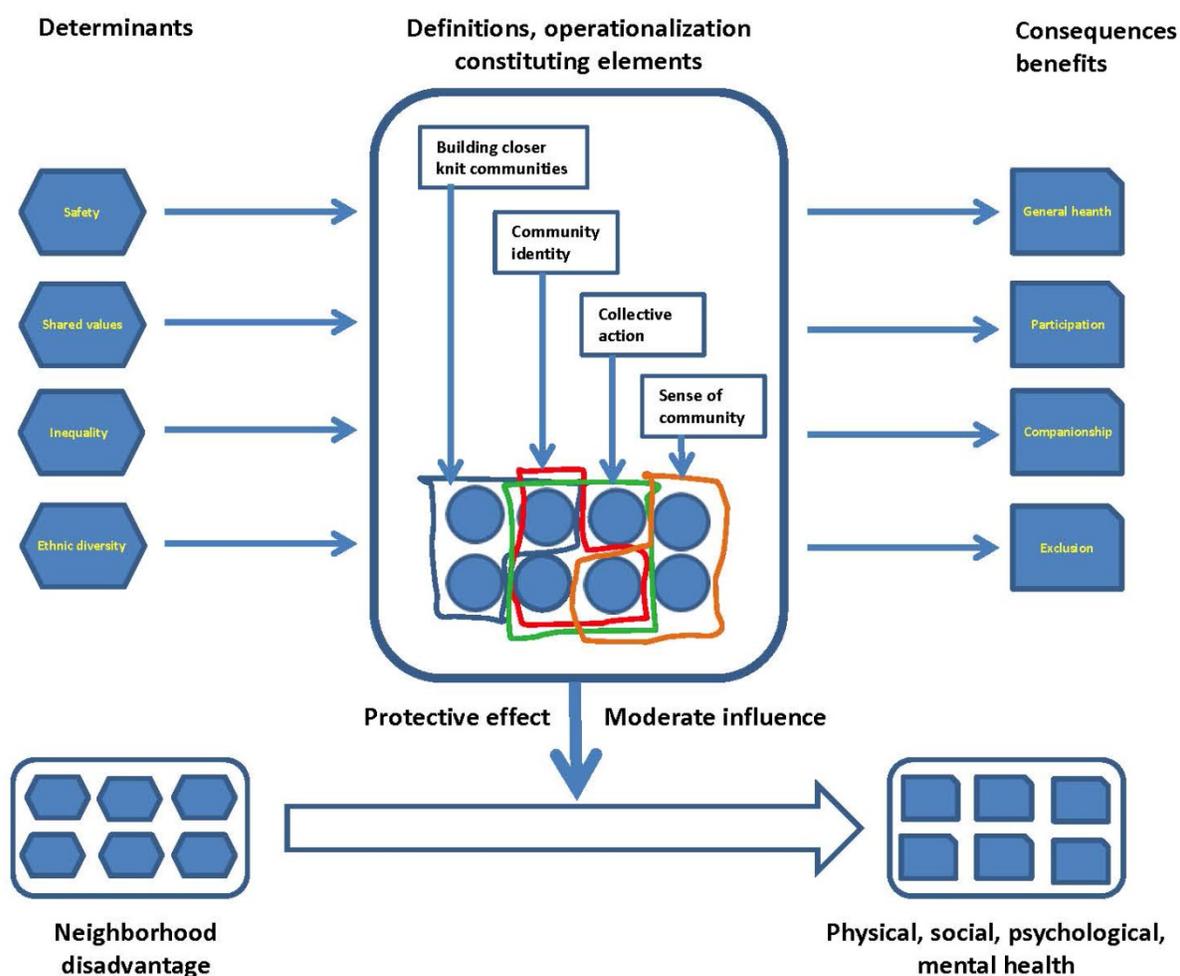


Figure 3: Social Cohesion Map

Neighborhood services, social capital, and social cohesion mesh to act as a buffer against the adverse effects of being single and poor on the well-being of older adults. Aesthetic quality, violence and social cohesion are associated with the presence of depressive symptoms in residents. Built characteristics appear to matter more for cohesion in high-disadvantage neighborhoods (Johns et al 2011, Erdem et al. 2015, Erdem et al. 2016, Fone et al., 2007)..

Social support, social control, active local community participation, and social cohesion are associated with greater levels of neighborhood satisfaction. As to collective action vs. neighborhood social cohesion, the literature suggests that the perceived difficulty of collective action appears to exist in majority African American neighborhoods. Ethno-cultural diversity is less negatively related to neighborhood social cohesion in more inclusive policy contexts (Lee, 2000; Baum et. al, 2009; Markowitz et al., 2001; Nieuwbeerta et al., 2008; Wilkinson, 1999)..

4. Relationships Between Social Cohesion and the Seven Elements

Below is the summary of perceived associations between social cohesion and the seven elements according to the review of literature (see Figure 4).

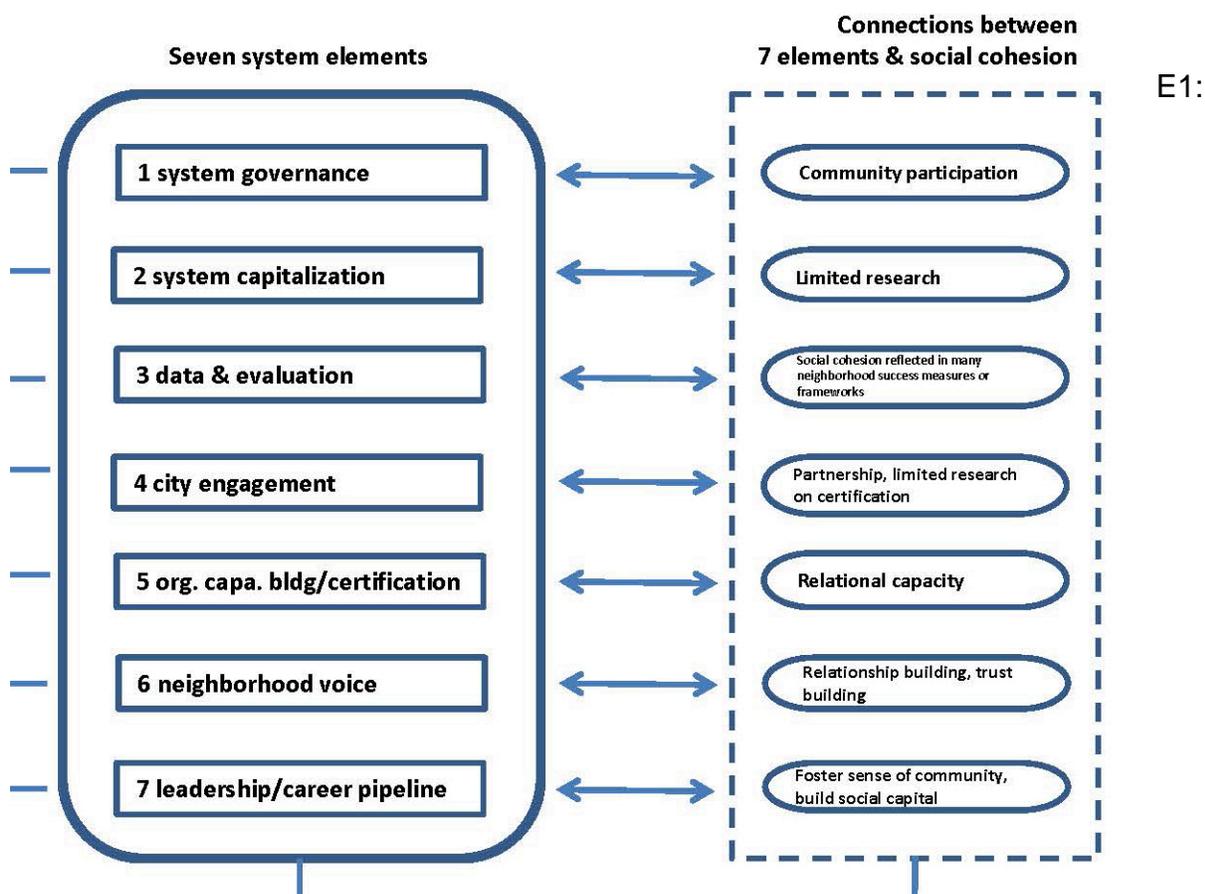


Figure 4: Social Cohesion and the Seven Elements

E1: Community participation has a positive effect on social cohesion, but the impact of governance on cohesion has been insufficiently studied (some research reports that determining how to deal with the diversity of the population and the complexity of participation structures and other related processes is a growing challenge). Little research exists on a possible connection between social cohesion and a city-wide system and governance (e.g., whether or not having more high socially cohesive communities could have a positive influence on city-wide system and governance).

Some authors propose “structural cohesion,” which is defined as the minimum number of actors who, if removed from a group, would disable the group. The authors recommend expanding the connections in a group and expanding the “nodes” or members with multiple connections to help strengthen the structural cohesiveness of a group. This information can be used when constructing a system of community development practitioners working towards shared goals (Moody, White, 2003),

E2: Neighborhood disadvantage (e.g., lack of neighborhood services, lack of social capital, lack of social support) is likely to reduce social cohesion. Limited research exists on connections between social cohesion and systematic resources (e.g., using social cohesion measures in resource allocation decisions).

An article concerning investment in a neighborhood and the relation to social cohesion reports that social cohesion (in this study, classified as trust, attachment, practical help, and tolerance or respect) was found to be lower in areas considered to be materially deprived (Stafford et al., 2003).

E3: Various neighborhood success measures are proposed (based on sustainable development goals, community well-being, quality of life, healthy community, livable city, smart city, etc.). Some aspects of social cohesion (e.g., social equity) are included or reflected in the dimensions of these measures, indicators, or indices. Some lessons include: measures need to be grounded in community values and public engagement; frequent reports and updating are desirable; an explicit connection between community indicator initiatives and monitoring of community development goals is needed (Caughy et al. 2001).

E4: Articles have been written about city government support for CDOs via CDBG and other support mechanisms, but it is difficult to find sources that study CDO certification and connections between social cohesion and city engagement (e.g., use of social cohesion measures in the recognition of certified CDOs and the provision of CDBG support).

Other studies suggest that in order to promote city engagement between different sectors and between different communities in the midst of immigration, migration, and changing demographics, a focus should be on common values and ideals rather than heterogeneity (Simpson 2015).

E5: Various studies have looked into capacity building for CDOs and grass roots organizations (GROs), the effectiveness of CDOs, and CDO performance standards (often dictated by unique local conditions, specific projects, and funding requirements), but sources dealing with questions like what role social cohesion may play in capacity building, are hard to locate.

E6: A number of sources assert that relationship building and trust building are key building blocks of social cohesion (Cook et. al. 2014). Yet, studies that look into specific ways to leverage those relationships to create an influential city-wide neighborhood voice (which may require sustainable collective action) seem rare. Some studies have reported on the perceived difficulty of collective action in majority African American neighborhoods.

E7: No peer-reviewed sources examining direct connections between social cohesion and the leadership/career pipeline are found. Research that addresses how social cohesion could best be taught in community development curriculum might be useful but difficult to find.

5. Social Cohesion As Necessary Condition to Successful Community Development

Taken together, a central lesson learned from the literature is that social cohesion is a necessary but insufficient condition for successful community development. That said, there is extensive support from the literature for the idea that social cohesion is positively associated with trust building, open communication, relationship building, collaborative practice, and collective action, all of which are likely to have a positive impact on community development (Chan Et al. 2006). This finding is also supported by the results of our site visits to Cleveland, Boston, Philadelphia, and Indianapolis.

We have also learned from the literature that social cohesion has diverse dimensions including individual (personal) vs. collective (public, social); psychological vs. physical; and action-based vs. meaning-based. This appears to correspond to the key aspects of community development such as people (e.g., public participation, community organizing, human development, social relationships, residents' desires); place (e.g., physical, neighborhood, safety); and an ecosystem (e.g., social capital, economy, public support). This also implies that neighborhood success measures require indicators in personal, social, psychological, physical, meaning, and activity.

There is an extensive body of literature on the measurement foci or frameworks for measuring community or neighborhood progress or success. Some of the popular ones are quality of life, well-being, health, sense of community, and sustainability (Marx and Rataj 2015). The literature also suggests that social cohesion plays an important role in each of these frameworks. Social cohesion in this sense creates an environment that is supportive of the seven elements through attachment, bonding, trust building, collaborative efforts, partnership, and collective action (see Figure 5).

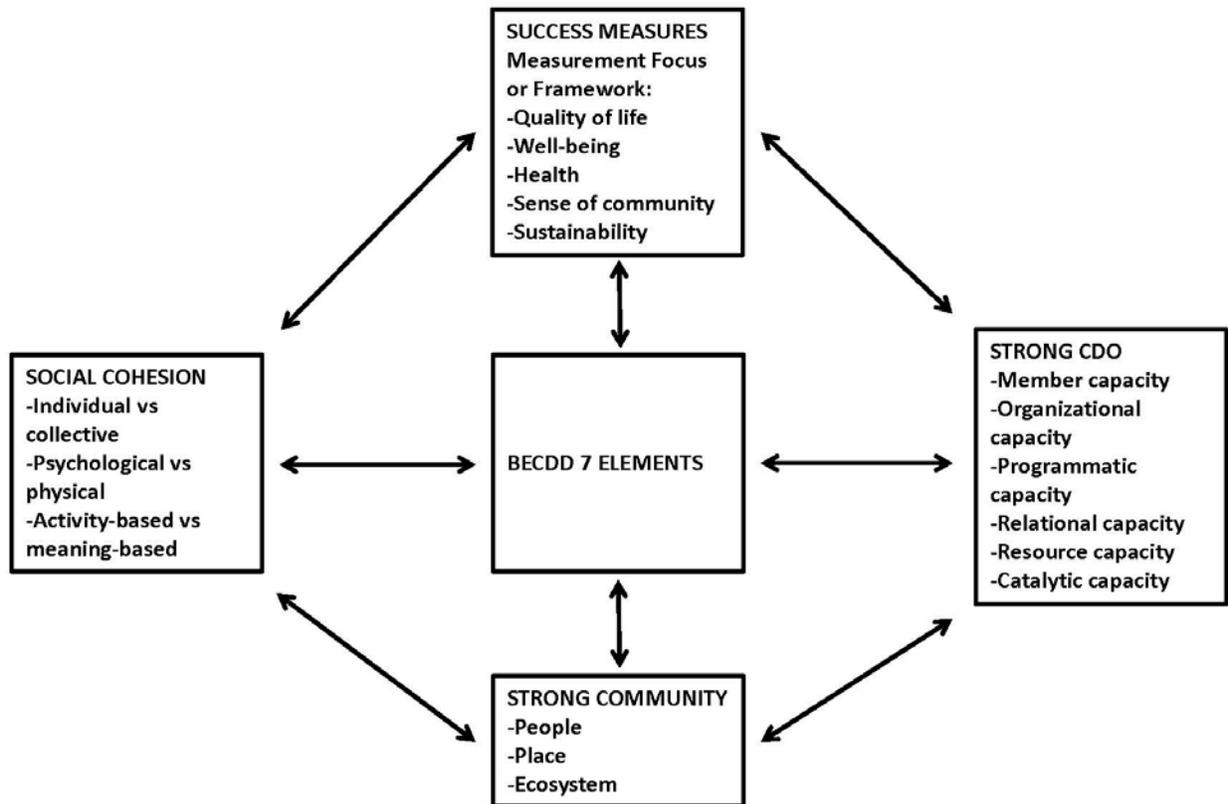


Figure 5: Understanding an Overall Picture

6. Further Inquiries

Collaboration with Universities:

There is an extensive body of literature reporting on the collaboration between universities and local communities in terms of developing educational or training programs together, with respect to the Elements 5 or 7 (McRae, 2012; Albulescu, Albulescu, 2014; Clifford, Petrescu, 2012). Yet, our site visits to Cleveland, Boston, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia revealed that universities, which in the cases of Boston and Philadelphia are key players in community development do not appear to be as active as one might expect, given the fact that both cities have numerous universities. One explanation may be that community development professionals are experienced enough to develop programs on their own without the help of universities in those cities.

Community Design Center:

There is limited research in the literature reporting on the role of the design profession or its professional association in community development. In that regard, the community design center in Philadelphia run by American Institute of Architects (AIA) Philadelphia

chapter is highly inspiring. The center's emphasis on design as a tool to promote community engagement and bring both sides together (i.e., architects and communities) for the purpose of supporting community development is impressive. Considering possible competitions among design centers belonging to universities, the community design center operated by AIA Philadelphia may be a more ideal model with a clear focus without being distracted by competing design centers like those of universities. Furthermore, since their projects are conducted by professional architects, the final deliverables are likely to be the work of high quality. It is a model that AIA Detroit might like to study more in depth to build capacity of CDOs.

People, Place, and Planet:

The literature is loaded with articles that engage or promote sustainability in the production of the built environment (Marx and Rataj 2015, Calthorpe 2010). While people, place and ecosystem appear to be consistent key components in community development in all four cities we visited, it appears that sustainable development, resilient city, and effects of climate change or sea levels on low income communities do not necessarily receive a great deal of attention from the key players in community development. While the recent report on Philadelphia's plan to spend nearly 500 million dollars on recreation facilities, parks, and the like is quite encouraging, the other cities we visited do not appear to invest much in green infrastructure and other amenities that promote sustainable or environmentally friendly development in the city. In the same vein, it is suggested that neighborhood success measures need to include not just physical, economic, psychological, and social indicators, but also environmental indicators, as informed by the vast literature in sustainable development.

Immigration and Community Development:

There is a rapidly growing body of literature on the impact of immigration on community development and a positive role immigrants play in their community (Simpson 2015). Yet according to our site visit, Philadelphia appears to be the only city that pays serious attention to immigration as a key factor in community development. Small neighborhood-based jobs immigrants create, their entrepreneurship, robust work ethic, strong family values, attachment to their community, desire to keep their community safe and well maintained—all of these positive attributes contribute to social cohesion and help create an environment that is supportive to healthy community development.

Results of Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this report is to update our advisory Planning Teams on the findings of the third round of literature review. For each round, roughly 150 sources were reviewed. 453 cumulative peer reviewed academic articles were analyzed for the third phase. The articles came from a wide range of academic study including urban planning, public policy, public health, law, organizational management, social work, community psychology, nonprofit management, community development, government, housing, economic development, social psychology, social indicators, urban design, environmental psychology, and sustainable development. The articles include a range of organizational structures including surveys, case studies and literature reviews. The goal is to collect academically approved recommendations that can be used by Building the Engine of Community Development in Detroit (BECDD) partners to strengthen their organizations and improve their communities.

This is the third phase of the literature review process. The articles were broken down into seven Elements provided by the BECDD participants, a section devoted to social cohesion and a review of cities mentioned in frequently in the peer-reviewed sources. Some articles fall into multiple Elements and will appear in multiple sections.

The following includes each Element with review of the relevant literature and a section dedicated to social cohesion.

1. ELEMENT ONE: SYSTEM GOVERNANCE. A structured and functioning public-private governance system comprised of representative community development stakeholder/leaders as equal partners; collaboratively shepherding the entire system, designing new initiatives, and advocating for community development as an important strategy for Detroit neighborhoods.

Summary of Element One Literature:

Literature that exists concerning the core of Element One, a “public-private governance system” concerns regional, statewide and national efforts. However, there are still lessons that can be drawn to be used at a local level. There are much more written about the collaboration and advocating around community development by community development organizations portion of Element One.

System Governance

In her article advocating for greater connectivity between local policy and community development networks and statewide and even nationwide networks, Scally notes the

positives of “expanding spaces of engagement” at every level (Sally, 2011). Specific to neighborhood community development corporations she notes:

“Regardless of one’s perspective, CDCs have been struggling ever since their founding to contest the futures of the communities they serve. This contest has been repeatedly rescaled and restructured to match shifting community development policy environments within the fragmented, federalist system of US government. In order to facilitate their work within their locally contingent ‘spaces of dependence’, these CDCs have reframed their ‘spaces of engagement’ through the formation of policy networks to influence governance within the geographically contingent, nested hierarchy of political jurisdictions (Cox, 1998; Leitner et al, 2002). Within these policy networks, CDCs are engaged in a substantial rescaling project, *suggesting that they are ‘based in but not bound by’ their spatially fixed localities* (added emphasis) (Sites, 2003).

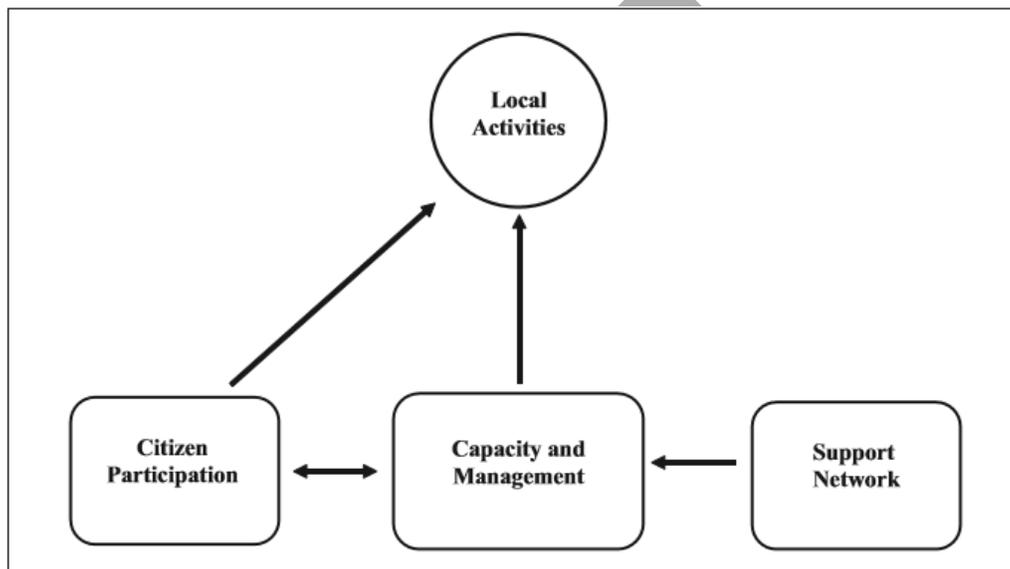
While this point is made to advocate for more statewide coordination between CDC networks, it also applies to citywide networks as well.

She goes on to warn that isolationism and a failure to create broader networks locally can see resources dwindle and neighborhood conditions deteriorate without the help of “mediating institutions”, which can be based locally, statewide or nationally. CDCs forming a larger network outside of their service neighborhood, she argues increase legitimacy, measure, improve and defend effectiveness of CDC and overcome perceptions of exclusion. As to how to create these networks, again her focus is mainly on how to create state and nationwide networks but some of the recommendations still hold true for establishing local networks. These include broadening and unifying around issues and proving legitimacy and effectiveness advocating for those issues. For example, an effort to educate the public on the benefits of affordable housing coordinates a broad section of interests including CDCs, housing advocates, financial institutions and homebuilders. In her research, Sally noted that all but one of the CDCs her interviewed were members of some larger policy network. The benefit of larger networks are the ability “to help raise issues and win gains across differentiated geographies and populations” and that when networks speak with one voice it can be very helpful to elected officials and other policy makers.

Increasing CDCs public profile and legitimacy within the community is an important factor creating a successful network. Sally notes that it is important for CDCs to create a unique identity within a crowded community development environment, noting that Massachusetts has created a statewide certification which “includes validating organizational governance as ‘authentically rooted in the community...’”(pg.772) to assure their legitimacy. The issue of local legitimacy is also raised in other articles advocating for it as a tool for CDOs (Walker, McCarthy 2010; Molden, et al. 2016). Walker and McCarthy noted that there was a correlation between the longevity of an organization and the “embeddedness in local institutional environment”, particularly if the organization holds public accountability sessions featuring local officials. Molden et al. note in their case study that legitimacy comes from a combination of interpersonal relationships, shared development narratives and achievement of demonstrable

practical outcomes. If an organization is able to build their legitimacy through these recommendations, they can also boost their profile within the community. Being a member of a productive or influential community development stakeholders group and their collaboratively shepherding an entire system appear to rely heavily on legitimacy.

Studies of the governance structures of metropolitan economic development initiatives and sustainability initiatives both also mention trust and relationship building as important factors in creating their structures (Hawkings et al., 2012, Hawkins et al., 2015). The study of sustainability networks also provides a useful recommendation as to how governance structures can implement a system to assure they receive feedback from its members.



[Source: Hawkings, Christopher and XiaoHu Wang. (2012). Sustainable Development Governance: Citizen Participation and Support Networks in Local Sustainability Initiatives. Page 11 Figure 1. Sustainable development governance conceptual model]

This figure above shows a system that allows for a governing support network to assist in the capacity and management of the overall system, but also is able to accept citizen participation (which can be expanded to CDO or neighborhood participation in the case of BECDD) which in turn helps influence the management of the system and the output of the system itself.

The research presented details that not only are a connected network of community development practitioners achievable; it can help tackle larger policy issues as a united unit. Organizers should remain in close contact with their membership and maintain legitimacy in order to continue foster a strong relationship.

2. ELEMENT TWO: SYSTEM CAPITALIZATION. A strategy to assure public-private systemic resources for community development work including operating

support for CDOs, capacity building for CDOs and Grassroots Organizations, access to shared organizational services, data and evaluation services; and low-cost debt and grant capital for community development projects.

Summary of Element Two Literature:

The literature for Element Two contained a mix of articles covering various forms of financing for CDOs such as Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) and the Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Company (MESBIC) and their initiatives to add in financing underserved communities and the effect CDBG funding can have on the larger area outside of a specific project.

Financial Resources

Literature review produced several examples of financing for CDCs and their programs and initiatives. Each had various standards and mechanisms in place to receive funding.

In discussing the value of national intermediaries (such as LISC), local collaboration and their relationship with local CDCs in his case study of Cleveland, McDermott notes the unique funding ability intermediaries possess to add CDCs (McDermott, 2004). Stating that the collaboration between CDCs and local intermediaries is the most important recent development to the long-term health of CDCs, there are now numerous funding collaborations joining foundations, corporations and government to fund CDCs and their efforts. He gives the example of the Community Development Collaborative of Greater Columbus which was created through support of the national intermediary the Enterprise Foundation. Enterprise supported the CDC through Living Cities funds to provide leadership, financial, training and technical assistance aid. Over the course of a decade it went from having zero support staff and working board to an independent organization with an annual budget of \$1.5 million and funded through a network of dozens of financial institutions, foundations, government agencies and corporations.

More traditional sources of financing are also covered in the form of CDFI and MESBIC programs (Benjamin et al. 2004; Bates, 2000). Both were created to fill the gaps in capital that exist with traditional lenders in underserved communities. CDFIs take a variety of institutional forms and provide a variety of services. These include federally regulated banks and credit unions with traditional loans to unregulated nonprofit loan funds and venture capital providers who offer a range of services not found from traditional lenders. A major focus of CDFI has been allowing access to checking and savings accounts which allow borrowers to develop credit and avoid high processing fees at check cashing and payday loan establishments. They also provide financing for families for home ownership in cities like Boston, Chicago and Santa Cruz and nonprofits and CDOs for multi-family unit housing. CDFIs help provide funding in addition to government, philanthropic and CDC fundraising to fill gaps that prevent construction and rehabilitation from happening.

Similar to CDFIs MESBIC provide funding to unserved communities to help facilitate business growth in minority communities. Operating through a subsidy by the Small Business Administration, the MESBIC funds are invested in immigrant and minority-owned businesses around the country.

In a case study of CDBG funding in Philadelphia, Beck Pooley observes that neighborhoods receiving greater than median amounts of CDBG and Section 108 allocations saw an increase in property values at a greater rate than those with less or no allocation (Beck Pooley, 2013). She determines that signs of investment from the government create a domino effect on adjacent properties as those owners become confident on the future of the neighborhood and begin repairing and improving their properties.

The tools available from CDFIs, MESBIC and CDBG funding can have the potential to have a transformative impact on an area. CDOs should be aware of all of these programs collective abilities and develop methods to implement them in their neighborhoods.

3. ELEMENT THREE: DATA AND EVALUATION. Accessible neighborhood level data, research on best CD practices, and an evaluation system; all geared toward the achievement of consensus Neighborhood Success Measures

Summary of Element Three Literature:

There is a wealth of information on Element Three, breaking down between articles highlighting the use of geographic information systems (GIS) and its application in CDO work, how to correctly perform evaluation (on both served neighborhoods and the organization itself) and how that information can be useful to CDOs, and best practices for CDCs and what factors go into organizations downsizing and closure.

Neighborhood and Organizational Evaluation

The literature on evaluation takes two forms, methods on how to best evaluate the neighborhood a CDO provides services to and how to integrate program evaluation capacity building into existing organizations. The literature stresses the approval of indicators from the community is a key to the approval process.

There are two similar case studies of how city government and a non-profit went through the process evaluating their respective towns (Bhatia, 2014; Lewis, 2007). While the cities analyzed in each of the studies are vastly different in almost any urban planning categorization (San Francisco, California and Harrisonburg, Virginia), the processes they separately went through to evaluate the health and quality of life in their communities is similar. Both cities started by assembling an evaluation team (led by the Department of Public Health in San Francisco and a coalition of non-profit and private community stakeholders in Harrisonburg) and then directing that team to develop

criteria of neighborhood indicators. They then shared this potential list of indicators with community stakeholders including nonprofits, community organizations health care providers and universities and citizens groups representing concerns varying from employment, senior services, transportation and housing and received their feedback and approval. The organizers created an edited the list based on this feedback and then conducted the evaluation. The Harrisonburg study noted that "...in order to have a valuable product stakeholders must agree on what needs to be measured and how the data will be obtained and used to improve current services or provide input on future community needs". With this buy-in both efforts were able to gain support from local residents and community organizations on any initiatives that came from this evaluation process.

There is also a segment of research devoted to developing neighborhood evaluation methods which can be used at the grassroots level (Western et al., 2005, Caughy et al., 2001, Epley, Menon, 2007, Wismer, 1999, Sawicki, Flynn, 1996). There are a variety of options on how this evaluation can be conducted and what measures should be quantified. Caughy et al. have developed an evaluation that can be done visually, which requires little time and resources. Their criteria tracks the amount of physical incivilities, such as graffiti, litter, vacant and burned residences and commercial spaces, territoriality, security bars, homes with boarders or hedges, and homes with decorations, and the availability of play resources like public playgrounds in good condition and children visible playing. Western et al. and Wismer each present potential survey and interview questions which are intended to determine community strength and quality of life in a given neighborhood. Western and his colleagues classify their evaluation into four measures of social capital; informal structures of social networks, formal structures, informal norms and formal norms. These measures were determined through a survey using a Likert scale asking questions regarding institutions and interactions participant's neighborhoods (in the studies case, communities in Australia). Examples included, rating the importance of differences in ethnic background and income, how many community events attended in the last six months, what extent would you trust your neighbors, how safe do they feel walking down the street after dark. Wismer's article has developed a similar survey used by rural communities in Ontario, Canada. That survey focused mainly on resident's interactions with each other and the community asking how likely they were to greet someone, how many people and children they saw out in the community and their attendance at local festivals.

Sawicki and Flynn see the potential of combining surveys and evaluations of neighborhood indicators and utilizing the technological power of GIS technology. They note that a calculated effort in designing an evaluation of neighborhood indicators can reap powerful data which can be used to affect policy. As with the case studies of San Francisco and Harrisonburg, they also stress that local residents need to be a part of the evaluation process in order for it to be successful.

Outside of neighborhood evaluation, there is also literature on program (training-workshops, technical assistance, coaching, needs assessment) evaluation best practices and how to integrate them into a CDO (Norton et al. 2015). The literature

review conducted by the authors recommends CDOs who are looking to implement program evaluation tailor strategy based on a needs assessment, commit the organization to evaluation and evaluation capacity building, embrace experiential learning, train with a practical element and provide ongoing technical support. Examples of training provided in the article on how this can be achieved include interactive training workshops, conducting workplace-based evaluation as a core element of training courses, offering web-based training that can be completed when staff is ready. For ongoing technical assistance, the authors recommend utilizing external or internal consultancy services and developing mentoring relationships.

GIS

As GIS technology has become more widely available, there seems to be an increase in the application towards community development work and subsequently more written about its use (Leitner et al. 2000; Ghose, 2003; Elwood, 2006; Esnard, 2007; Parenteau et al. 2008; Duval-Diop et al. 2010). These articles all highlight the many practical and beneficial uses of GIS technology. The main obstacles to implementing the technology are the hesitation of organizations to adopt it and the lack of knowledge on how to best use it. These articles provide strong examples of how GIS data can be practically used in neighborhood evaluation and how data can be used for long term planning.

The Parenteau et al. article gives a good case study as to how organizations can utilize what might seem like mix of unrelated data. The authors start out with the goal to analyze the relationship between socioeconomic status and neighborhood health indicators in Ottawa, Ontario. By setting neighborhood boundaries that made logical sense to community organizations (as opposed to census tracts) and overlaying economic data like unemployment rate, household income and education with health data like green space, distance to grocery stores and health services and number of fast food restaurants, researchers were able to identify the most at risk areas of the neighborhood and make recommendations on what health issues and outcomes such as hospital admission rates, smoking during pregnancy and low birth weight rates that need to be monitored.

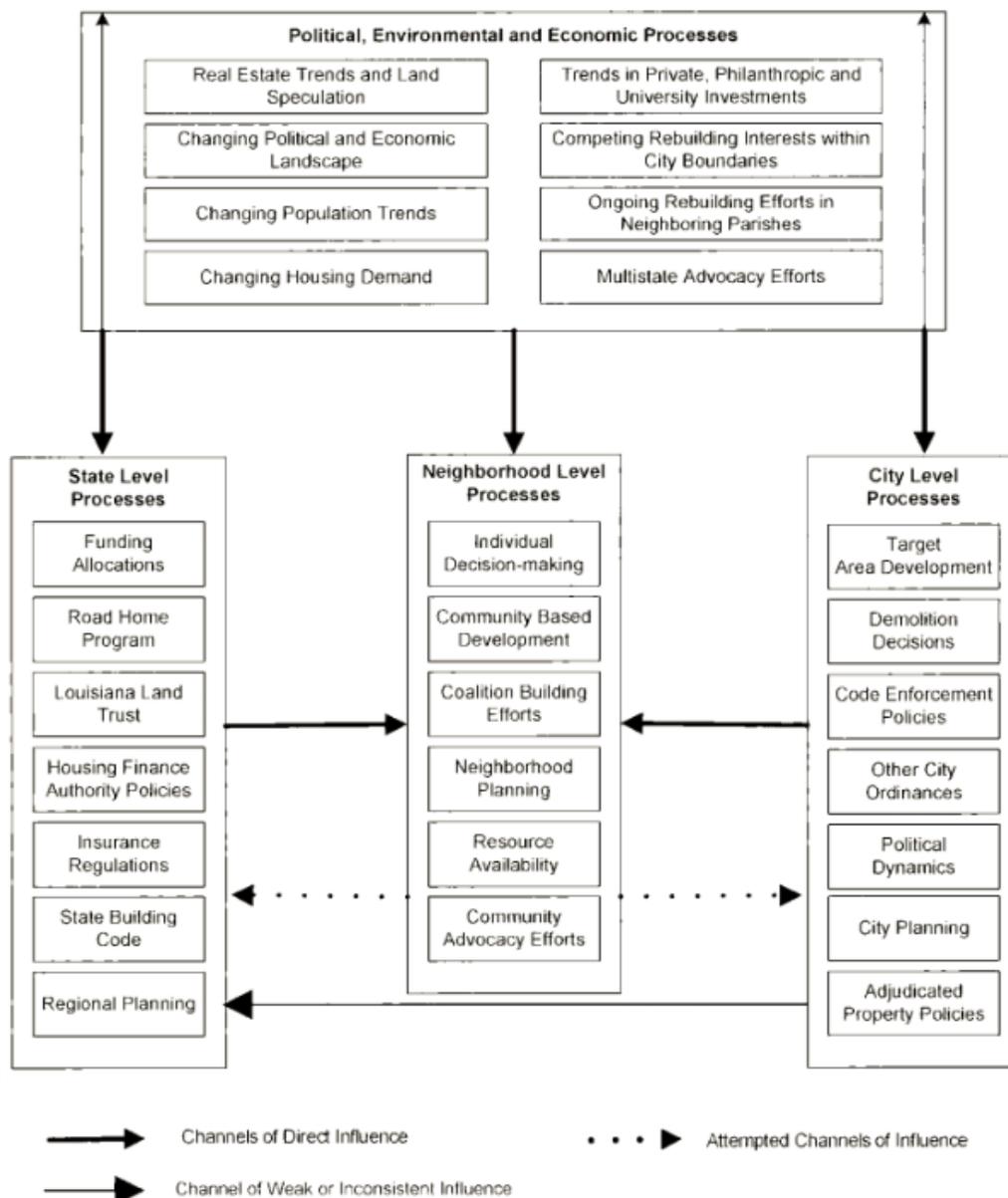
Ghose and her analysis of Milwaukee CDCs broaden the application of GIS technology even further. Because of a long partnership with local city government including the Department of City Development and Neighborhood Services, CDCs in Milwaukee have had access to quality GIS data for years and use this data in a variety of strategic ways. This includes monitoring neighborhood conditions and using data to predict and anticipate future changes, improve service delivery and using available data to challenge local government policy. All of this is done with open and committed sharing of data by the city government of Milwaukee, even when they know it has the potential to be used to challenge their own policies. Below is a table showing neighborhood issues and how GIS can be useful in addressing them.

TABLE 1
Types of Spatial Data Most Useful to Community Organizations

<i>Neighborhood Issue</i>	<i>Spatial Data</i>
Housing	Ownership Zoning Land use Assessed land/structure value Tax exemption status of land/structure Structural information on buildings Year of change of assessment code Property transfer information Tax delinquency status Building code violations Raze status Vacant lots Boarded-up homes
Economic Development	Employment opportunities List of neighborhood businesses Membership in business associations Small business lending data Job training programs Youth leadership
Crime	Incidents listed by dates, locations, types Parole data
Health/Environment	Health statistics Hazardous material storage sites Lead contamination data
Property Investment	Private mortgage data Public lending data
School Data	Public school data
Client Data	Contact data about members, participants Date of participation Participation activities

[Source: Ghose, Rina. (2003). Community Participation, Spatial Knowledge Production, and GIS Use in Inner-City Revitalization. Page 46 Table 1. Types of Spatial Data Most Useful to Community Organizations]

An even further level of openness in regard to data and communication is advocated in an analysis of recovery in post-Katrina New Orleans (Duval-Diop et al. 2010). The authors see community feedback on recovery initiatives as an essential part of the process and going hand in hand with research supported by GIS data stating “views and voices gain greater weight when they are supported by research and data, and become more effective at advocating for policy change that advances equity”. In the case study a coalition of black churches is able to pair community feedback with GIS data collected by window-surveys by members to present findings to the New Orleans Office of Recovery Development Administration which oversees the implementation of programs and projects receiving public funding. The department then classified each area studied by the coalition as sites for redevelopment and future reinvestment, in part due to the coalition’s advocacy. Below is the graph of all of the efforts that made up the case study in the rebuilding efforts in post-Katrina New Orleans.



[Source: Duval-Diop, Dominique and Andrew Curtis, Annie Clark. (2010). Enhancing equity with public participatory GIS in hurricane rebuilding: faith based organizations, community mapping, public policy. Page 39 Figure 1. A conceptual model of dynamic processes driving community recovery in New Orleans]

All of these articles shine the light on the plethora of ways GIS data can be used to advance neighborhood evaluation and organizational planning and how CDOs can use the data in tandem with community input.

Characteristics of Successful Community Development Organizations

Without much surprise, consistent, diverse sources of organizational funding are one of the most consistent characteristics of successful organizations (Walker, McCarthy 2010;

Rohe, Bratt 2003, Bratt, Rohe 2005). Walker and McCarthy note that resources are the “most significant predictors of whether an organization will meet its demise”. Interestingly, they calculated a breakdown that states that every \$10,000 of total income a CBO generates equals a 7 percent chance of survival and for every \$1,000 of grassroots funds raised (via ads in newsletters, bake sales etc.) increase survival by over 2 percent. Bratt and Rohe note the increased competition for resources and over-reliance on one or two funding sources put organizations at risk. They also note however, the risks of diversifying into service areas beyond traditional expertise can lead to failed ventures, which can create distrust and further lack of financial support. Being honest with support communities about any financial issues is also listed as a key to organizational success.

The literature review for Element Three shows that there are many available ways to collect and analyze neighborhood data. From local government led efforts to evaluate entire cities, to simple determinants local nonprofits can use to evaluate their neighborhoods, there are many opportunities available. The availability of GIS software to further analyze the collected data and help develop long term planning strategies and track progress is an added layer of evaluation that should be considered.

4. ELEMENT FOUR: CITY ENGAGEMENT. City government support for community development through the recognition of certified CDOs for each City Council District, the provision of CDBG support, and ongoing partnerships with CDOs to help fulfill the city’s Master Plan.

Summary of Element Four Literature:

Articles pertaining to Element Four covered the relationship between community organizations and government officials, official partnerships between nonprofit organizations and the government and the Community Development Block Grant allocation process. Collectively these articles highlight the potential opportunities that come with obtaining government support as well as potential challenges.

Local Government Interaction with Community Development Organizations

There is sometimes a perception that CDOs serve their community in a sort of apolitical vacuum (Goetz, Sidney, 1995). But there is also a perception that one of the keys to an organization’s longevity is the legitimacy that comes with being connected to government officials and working together on a project or initiative (Walker, McCarthy 2010). These articles shed the light on the space where CDOs and government interact and how CDOs can best utilize the relationship (Rich et al., 2001).

Both the Goetz and Rich articles note that there is at least partial government influence over CDCs and provide suggestions on what areas provide the best possibility to collaborate with local government. Organizations who receive public funds naturally feel obligated to please and appease local officials for fear of losing funding in the future.

Goetz and Sidney's survey of CDCs in the Minneapolis and St. Paul region concludes that government funding of programs limits funding to government decided guidelines. While this might cause concern for the organization, it also provides CDCs with auxiliary benefits noted by Rich et al. like government officials better understanding community issues and working more closely with neighborhood organizations to develop solutions to issues impacting their area.

Rich et al. suggest moving beyond the "thin" relationships many CDOs have with their local government and moving to a more robust collaboration. It is suggested that this can be established through open communication and trust and by agreeing on a planned strategy to create a "comprehensive and strategic" approach. Their survey of 788 mayors of cities with a population above 50,000 and executive directors of community based organizations from across the country found that only fifty-six percent of city respondents and less than half of community respondents have created and employed an approach to collectively reducing poverty, while seventy percent of both groups see this as viable strategy. They continue by presenting an example strategy which puts public, private and community stakeholders together to reach an understanding on challenges faced and strategies to overcome them and how to implement them noting that: "...this approach flattens the city hierarchy by bringing responsible decision makers directly to the table and offers the potential of minimizing the obstacles of control and "turf" embedded in lower levels of city administration. It also places (community-based organization) officials in a decision-making realm where the larger picture of citywide needs comes into focus. The facilitated nature of this process offers the potential for real communication across the city-(community-based organization) divide." With this, they present a situation where government and community organization can work together to solved shared challenges.

Government Partnerships

There has been a healthy amount of research into the benefits of community organizations partnering with local government and the effectiveness of the partnerships outcomes. In their survey of local government officials and nonprofit staff members in Georgia, Gazley and Brudney conclude that generally, both groups are satisfied with their partnerships but also include areas for improvement (Gazley, Brudney 2007). They found that partnerships were sought when one side was looking to secure resources, financial resources for the nonprofits, expertise in an area for the government. Successful partnerships created improved service delivery, increased citizen satisfaction and more trust in the government. Comparatively, government officials were more satisfied with partnerships and nonprofit executives were more likely to cite obstacles, and be less satisfied with the partnership. Nonprofits also noted that a lack of staff capacity was the main reason to not agree to a partnership.

In another survey of government officials regarding joint ventures with other local governments, Hawkins notes the importance of third party actors in the process of collaboration (Hawkins, 2011). Noting that "in the context of metropolitan development networks, third parties can improve communication and interaction among local

governments by acting as a broker or central actor that links fragmented local governments”, he does not indicate who the third party actors are but a community development organization could conceivably see filling that role, provided they have the capacity and resources to do so.

In their study of central Florida, Glaser, Soskin and Smith note effect local government working with community-based organizations can have on development (Glaser et al. 1996). After community pushback from two low-income housing developments grew, county officials in Orange County sought to work with community-based organizations before the construction of future developments in hopes of reestablishing trust. Because the county was not only willing to meet with community groups but also honor their requests, the new developments were much more accepted by the community.

There are concerns with government partnerships that are also raised. In their review of community organizations in Montreal, Fontan et al.2009 noted the tensions that can arise not only between organizations when financial resources are allocated and also between the awarded organization and the local government if the allocation is too small to effectively complete the task. Their research also suggests that although tensions can arise when working with government officials, local organizations can create formal and informal networks to help influence political lives on the local, regional and national level.

Community Development Block Grant Funding

The articles written about CDBG fall into two categories types, a) investigations into specific portions of CDBG funding and how it is used and what effect it has on the community and b) how cities allocate their CDBG funding and what effect that funding has on an area . For articles that provide information to specific components of CDBG funding such as the more women in leadership roles (i.e. City Council, Mayor) the more CDBG funding goes to services for youth, childcare and abused spouses and children (Smith, 2014). It is unclear if these articles can be integrated into specific useful recommendations.

In her case study of the CDBG allocation process in St. Louis and Cleveland, Casey notes the positives of letting the community have input on the process as opposed to strictly elected officials (Casey, 2015). In the study, St. Louis has a more classically managed patronage system for managing CDBG funding. Those organizations that have connections to elected neighborhood Aldermen, who vote on funding allocations are seen to get more funding consistently. This is aided by the concept of “aldermanic courtesy” in which the entire body (in St. Louis’ case 28 alderman representing corresponding wards) refuses to approve projects unless the alderman in that impacted ward approves. CDCs which supported or worked with opponents in the past can also be ignored based on the current Alderman. In contrast, Cleveland’s system is more inclusive, described by outsiders as “one system” where CDCs, broad-based coalitions and private and public resources work together to support community development activities.

In St. Louis, the alderman takes a majority role in allocating CDBG funds. The Community Development Administration agency of the local government does not work with the alderman to develop a process of competitively distributing the funds and there is no review process the public can view to determine past performance. The mandatory HUD requirement of public participation is held through public meetings and hearings but these are not well attended (the Community Development Administration notes there was not comments or questions received throughout the process in 2009). This has created a system where the same organizations receive the CDBG funding each year without necessarily reviewing their effectiveness or efficiency.

Below is a table detailing the differences between the Cleveland and St. Louis CDBG process.

Table 3. Descriptive Data of Local CDBG Program Administration by Case.

Category	CD, Cleveland, Ohio	CDA, St. Louis, Missouri
External Influencers	Public sector entities including County, State, and the Public Housing Authority Nonprofit CDCs. Financial institutions, special needs housing providers and social service organizations	Public sector entities including the City's Planning and Urban Design Agency, the building division, the street department, and the board of public service The St. Louis Development Corporation Mayor's Executive Director of Development Division Council and Mayor's Cabinet Alderman
Authorization: Participation processes	Ongoing meetings with Cleveland's network of neighborhood-based CDCs; the Housing Advisory Board; Community Dialogue meetings with citizens Citizen participation surveys Public hearings (3) broadcast on local television Newspaper advertisements Rules and regulations to govern eligibility for CDBG funds Formalized criteria for proposed CDBG projects	Public meetings (2) and public hearings (3) Reports and documents on file for review in local library and CDA office Newspapers advertisements No formalized or transparent criteria for CDBG allocation decisions
Creation: Monitoring processes	CD Compliance Section reviews program activities and expenditures throughout the year Compliance Section Manager oversees the submission of the Annual Action Plan and CAPER	CDA reviews subgrantee's program goals, quantitative program objectives, performance measurements, and budgets Annual compliance monitoring and performance evaluations Bureaucratic oversight from Federal Grants Section of the City's Comptroller's office and the Internal Audit Section

Note. CDBG = Community Development Block Grant; CD = Community Development; CDA = Community Development Administration; CDC = community development corporation; CAPER = Consolidated Annual Performance and Evaluation Report.

[Source: Casey, Colleen. (2014). Public Values in Governance Networks: Management Approaches and Social Policy Tools in Local Community and Economic Development. Page 118 Table 3. Descriptive Data of Local CDBG Program Administration by Case]

The Cleveland CDGB allocation is administered by the Cleveland Department of Community Development and relies heavily on input from the community. Local

organizations such as the Cleveland Foundation, the Cleveland Housing Network and Neighborhood Progress Inc (who all represent a network of 20 plus CDCs, government agencies, banks and corporations) work with the local government in a process to authorize a set of public values to use throughout the allocation process. To administer the allocation process the Department of Community Development conducts outreach to individual citizens and nongovernmental actors to help craft the decision-making process. The Department also has regulations in place to assure that allocations are going to organizations which accurately represent the communities they serve, such as requiring recipient organization's boards to be made up of at least 80% of the service areas residential, institutional and economic segments.

The inclusive system utilized by Cleveland is not only more receptive to the input of the community, it is more compliant with HUD regulations as the St. Louis Community Development Administration has been cited for noncompliance and audited by the state of Missouri for lack of transparency.

There are also articles detailing the effect of input from residents has on CDBG funding distribution and the impact of CDBG investment has on a neighborhood. While studying citizen participation and its effect on CDBG funding, Milam Handley and Howell-Moroney analyzed citizen hearing attendance and its effect on CDBG funding distribution (Milam Handley and Howell-Moroney, 2010). They found that city officials felt most accountable to their citizens in cities with the higher levels of citizen attendance at CDBG and budget hearings. Their survey of 459 CDBG administrators show that nearly 80% of respondents have a CDBG budget hearing attendance ranging from zero to twenty participants. This coupled with the response from officials where 71.2% said that citizen impact had somewhat or significant effect on the CDBG process.

In a case study of CDBG funding in Philadelphia, Beck Pooley observes that neighborhoods receiving greater than median amounts of CDBG and Section 108 allocations saw an increase in property values at a greater rate than those with less or no allocation (Beck Pooley, 2013). She determines that signs of investment from the government create a domino effect on adjacent properties as those owners become confident on the future of the neighborhood and begin repairing and improving their properties.

According to a case study of CDBG funding in Philadelphia conducted by Pooley (2013), neighborhoods receiving greater than median amounts of CDBG and Section 108 allocations saw an increase in property values at a greater rate than those with less or no allocation. The study determines that signs of investment from the government is likely to create a domino effect on adjacent properties as those owners become confident on the future of the neighborhood and begin repairing and improving their properties.

Partnerships with the government can provide much needed resources and legitimacy to community development organizations but they also come with concerns that should

be addressed. CDOs should take careful stock of their capacity and their government relations, as well as the CDBG allocation environment, before pursuing either endeavor.

5. ELEMENT FIVE: ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY BUILDING AND

CERTIFICATION. Systematic access to training, technical assistance, coaching, peer support, and development of CDOs as “conveners/facilitators” in every neighborhood. Support to Grass Roots Organizations to facilitate their important role. With a corresponding system to improve CDO effectiveness by developing CDO performance standards and validating CDOs as conveners, as well as CDOs/other organizations to perform the identified critical Community Development Roles in every neighborhood.

Summary of Element Five Literature:

The articles concerning organizational capacity building seek to define and categorize the term, study how organizations go about building capacity and what conditions need to be in place for capacity building efforts to be successful.

Defining Capacity Building

Within the community development field there seems to be internal debate as to the definition and scope of capacity building. Chaskin generally summarizes these as both the focus on skills, resources and problem-solving abilities and “participation of individual community members in a process of relationship building, community planning, decision making and action” (Chaskin, 2001). Glickman and Servon note the wide range of meanings that come with defining capacity and seek to narrow the definition by breaking it down into components, which are resource capacity (funding), organizational capacity (internal operations), programmatic (services provided), network (ability to interact with other institutions) and political (ability to advocate in the political arena) (Glickman, Servon, 1998).

Collaborative Capacity

Element Five contains several articles analyzing cases studies of capacity building efforts at CDO organizations and other nonprofits. There are several findings that should be noted from these studies. A recurring theme is that collaboration with other organizations (be it directly in co-managing an initiative, indirectly in guidance and mentorship or social in exchanging ideas), is a key factor in capacity building success (Chaskin, 200; Carman, Fredericks, 2010; Glickman, Servon, 1998). In their survey of organizations capacity building efforts, Carman and Fredericks note that because so many organizations are now, at the very least, attempting some kind of capacity building within their organization, organizations should create “learning networks” to share how they were able to succeed and what obstacles to look out for as capacity building efforts are rolled out. This method has been used in other professional fields like advertising, health care, law, information technology, and urban planning. Chaskin and Carman and

Fredericks note that collaboration on capacity building is now frequently a requirement of funders to assure the best results possible. In case studies of the CDC environment Detroit, Cleveland and Baltimore, studies point to Detroit's lack of communication and distrust between organizations as a reason for organizational failure or downsizing at a rate higher than other cities (Dewar, Thomas, 2013; Thomson, Etienne, 2016).

A case study of organizational collaboration to maximize collective impact was conducted in Florida (Banyai, Fleming, 2015). The Southeast Florida Foundation saw lack of capacity building and cooperation between nonprofits and local agencies in its service area. To change the system, any organization receiving funds from the foundation was organized into groups of "tribes" to help create collaborative networks and increase current capacity building efforts. Each tribe was tasked in developing a set of conditions including a common agenda, shared measurement systems, mutually reinforcing activities, continuous communication and a backbone support organization (who can provide fiscal services, office space, staffing needs, data and fundraising support). The foundation then created a tracking system for collaboration starting with outright competition at the bottom and collaboration and full integration at the top.

The Foundation and local intermediaries provided trainings and continued to nurture the collaboration between organizations. Over the course of three years, surveys showed an increase in perceptions of organizational capacity building, even from organizations not involved with the Foundations programing and receiving funds.

Conditions for successful capacity building

There are also theories on how to create the most effective environment for capacity building to take hold and to address issues that arise during the implementation. Carmen and Fredericks observe that it is important to identify if workers are struggling with concept of the capacity building goals (i.e. what are we measuring and why?) versus struggling with the tools used to implement (unfamiliar computer or information technology). It is important to distinguish because these are two issues because they can need the correct method to be resolved.

Another way of ingraining capacity building into an organization is a method dubbed "Catalytic Capacity Building" (Newman, 2001). The author defines "Catalytic Capacity Building" as a continuous learning improvement environment where members of an organization have access to experts, peer networks and coaches and mentors (any two-way relationship which provides support). A given example of Catalytic Capacity Building in action includes a nationwide fellowship program that selects community-based nonprofit organization executives for peer training. Each participant selects "mentor best practice agency" in their area of interest and defines a set of "structured, personal learning goals" and conduct learning trips to gain more knowledge on the organization and its leadership. Fellows report on their trips at monthly meetings, where they share lessons learned and discuss various management topics. The organization has now had over 350 fellows and feedback shows an increase in leadership and management skills, new collaboration and wider service areas for their organization. It is

suggested that it takes courage for a community-based organization to be willing to select other (competing) organization as a better agency or the best practice agency and learn from it, in hopes of bringing about a significant and desirable transformation in their agency.

A similar method was reviewed in a case study of small nonprofits in Florida. Researchers found that a “community of co-learning” where academics and experts were linked with organizations at the grassroots level (Kapucu, et al. 2011). By creating an environment where experts can share their knowledge with nonprofit organizations and the organization can share with each other, both groups gain knowledge from one another and gain more tools to serve their communities. The study formed the following conclusions, first, external factors (i.e. funding trends or client needs) influence the resources to capacity building, second, exposure to capacity building activities will increase the likelihood of further capacity building efforts in the future, and third capacity building will leads to an increase in useable knowledge.

The examples described above suggest that the willingness and effort of various agencies in community development to share information and knowledge with each other, thereby increasing their knowledge base, are more likely to create an environment for more effective capacity building. Such effort also requires trust, openness, and recognition that the focus of an organization’s effort should not be just its own success but also the creation of an ecosystem for capacity building for all organizations.

To conclude, building capacity should always be a consideration for an organization if it hopes to remain relevant to the needs of the residents it serves. The articles in Element Five have outlined how to effectively implement capacity building efforts and how to make sure they are adopted.

6. ELEMENT SIX: NEIGHBORHOOD VOICE. A system to build cross-sector relationships and trust within every neighborhood, then leveraging those relationships to create an influential city wide neighborhood voice for Detroit.

Summary of Element Six Literature:

The literature on Element Six contains case studies of examples of successful and unsuccessful cross-sector collaboration, how to build consensus among different groups and what makes cross sector partnerships successful. There were also several articles on how social media can be used to build community development ties through low cost resources available online without committing to spending large amounts of resources.

Do’s and Don’ts of Community Outreach

Three cases studies featured in the literature, examining developments in Milwaukee, Buffalo and Boston, provide excellent examples of how and how not to develop relationships with community members (Hutson, 2013; Bonds et al., 2015). In the

Boston study, a hospital expansion was threatening to disrupt nearby residents who used a local CDC to advocate for their interests during and after construction. The main concern from the local residents was that they have an opportunity to be hired in the jobs being created by the new expansion. The CDC created large network of organizers, government officials and hospital directors to advocate to and relay residents' concerns. When residents were not receiving job offers at the rate which the community was happy with, the CDC became entrepreneurial and helped create training programs where residents could learn the skills needed to access the new jobs. They effectively communicated and worked with many different groups and interests to accomplish the needs of their residents.

The People United for Sustainable Housing (PUSH) organization in Buffalo is another example of how an organization can coordinate with multiple stakeholders to achieve results (Dreier, 2012). Started by a resident, Aaron Bartley, who moved out of state to earn a law degree from Harvard only to come back and become a community organizer, PUSH was able to organize residents and achieve results. Bartley spent a year in one-on-one discussions with stakeholders to create a coalition including members from neighborhood residents, union activists, community organizers, religious leaders, social service providers, and professors from the University of Buffalo. While investigating ownership on vacant and neglected properties they learned that the largest owner was the New York Housing Finance Agency. PUSH then organized a grassroots campaign to urge Governor Pataki to take responsibility of the properties, which laid the ground work for success with the election of Elliot Spitzer. The state turned over 1,000 properties to the City of Buffalo, which in turn transferred many to PUSH, which concentrated resources and expanded to incorporate their growing mission. PUSH created a CDC to work with contractors to start developing homes but it also reached out to the grassroots coalition who got them the properties. They hired and trained city residents to help fix the homes and tenants in their completed buildings who helped with organizing or development work received reductions in rent. After organizing, advocating, and receiving state funds to aid in their development work, PUSH partnered with union trade organizations to help train residents in home weatherization improvement. As their funding and mission has grown, so has PUSH's coalition, which now includes environmental groups, small business development advocates and other community organizations. Bartley also now works with statewide and federal groups to mobilize and broad policy change.

In contrast, the Milwaukee case study (Bonds et al., 2015) shows how not to engage community members. In this case, Habitat for Humanity picks an underserved neighborhood in Milwaukee as its next site for discounted housing for residents. Because of poor communication with residents and local CDOs from the beginning of the process there was a pattern of distrust and ill will throughout the entire project. Habitat chose the Harambee neighborhood, which has a long history of community activism, as the location for the homes but failed to reach out to local leadership about the project. Their insistence at seeing themselves as a "color-blind" organization helped create further tension. Community leaders asked if local firms could help in the construction process for pay, Habitat explained they used volunteer labor for their

projects. When local residents saw an all-white crew working on the homes without knowing this fact, tensions grew. After Habitat attempted smooth over these troubles, they continued to create errors which lead to further tension with the community. For example, after the dust up over white volunteer worker, local residents were encouraged to help with the construction. This lead to an embarrassing encounter where a Habitat employee identified a local volunteer as “partner”(i.e. recipient of the home). After the homes were completed, they were given to those who had previously lived outside of the Harambee neighborhood, further angering residents. The construction projected ended with many in the community upset and feeling like Habitat did not fulfil promises made at the start.

These example case studies show how open communication and creative solutions among a wide coalition of interests can produce positive outcomes and how lack of communication and failing to live up to promised expectations can damage a project.

Consensus Building

In order for a broad coalition to form, consensus must be established throughout the membership on the goals of the coalition and how to achieve them. A study of what conditions need to be present backs up much of what was seen in the Boston and Buffalo examples in the previous section (Innes, 2004). The checklist of conditions are:

1. Inclusion of a full range of stakeholders
2. A task that is meaningful to the participants and that has promise of having a timely impact
3. Participants who set their own ground rules for behavior, agenda setting, making decisions and many other topics
4. A process that begins with mutual understanding of interests and avoids positional bargaining
5. A dialogue where all are heard and respected and equally able to participate
6. A self-organizing process unconstrained by conveners in its time or content and which permits the status quo and all assumptions to be questioned
7. Information that is accessible and fully shared among participates
8. An understanding that ‘consensus’ is only reached when all interests have been explored and every effort has been made to satisfy concerns.

Cross-Sector Relationships

The Boston example above highlights how developing a broad network of cross-sector relationships can help achieve organizational goals and this is demonstrated in other articles as well. For instance, Lowe and Shipp detail the untapped resource that is the network of black churches that exist in many large cities as a source for community development resources and leadership (Lowe, Shipp, 2014). A network of black church leaders are the driving force in the case study for recovery of post-Katrina New Orleans, showing the capabilities of uniting religious leaders and community development efforts. (Duval-Diop et al. 2010)

The history of churches performing community development activities is long, but they are not the only practitioners. Community development activities are forming from sectors that have not normally provided services as in the case study of a growing trend of workforce development organizations providing social services (Powell et al., 2017). While community development organizations might partner with workforce development programs and institutions or even provide some on their own training, the STRIVE program in Baltimore takes a much more holistic view of workforce training. The assumption is that a workforce training program would provide training designed to get graduates hired and STRIVE does that in the form of resume-building, mock interviews and by explaining what to expect and how to behave during the hiring process. But in addition to those traditional functions, it also provides a pseudo-group therapy environment where staff work with participants to identify trauma in their past that has prevented them from finding steady employment. The staff makes it a goal to establish trust early so that participants can be honest about any issues they have and help them identify paths to move forward.

The STRIVE program is included in this section because it is an example of a traditional community development service, workforce development, which has partnered with social service programs to develop a training that not only addresses the job readiness skills needs of its participants but also addresses their mental wellbeing. This makes graduates of the program much more prepared for employment and is a good example of partnering across sectors to improve a service.

Public-Private partnerships can also be used to help create positive outcomes for residents and neighborhoods. In their article, Brinkerhoff and Brinkerhoff create a framework of partnerships broken down into policy, service deliver, infrastructure, capacity building and economic development. While the focus is on international poverty relief, these categories provide a useful backdrop as to how to frame potential partnerships moving forward.

		Mutuality	
		Low	High
Organizational Identity	High	2 Contracting	1 Partnership
	Low	3 Extension	4 Co-optation & Gradual Absorption

Figure 1. Partnership model.

[Source: Brinkerhoff, Jennifer. (2002). Government-Nonprofit Partnership: A Defining Framework. Page 22 Figure 1. Partnership Model]

Brinkerhoff also reviews the development of Government-Nonprofit partnerships (Brinkerhoff, 2002). She provides a useful graph (above) breaking down the classifications of potential partnerships between mutuality between the two organizations and how much organizational identity each organization holds possesses.

Table 1. Public-private partnerships: a purpose-based taxonomy

PPP purpose	Organizational structures and processes	Performance metrics	Normative dimensions
Policy	Network	Technical quality	Equity/representativeness
	Task force	Responsiveness	Citizen participation
	Joint committee	Consensus-building	Transparency
	Special commission	Legitimacy	
Service delivery	Co-production	Quality	Accountability
	Joint venture	Efficiency	Business values and incentives
	Contract	Effectiveness	Access
	Partnership agreement (MOU)	Reaching targeted beneficiaries	Responsiveness
Infrastructure	Joint venture	Quality	Accountability
	Build-operate-transfer	Efficiency	Business values and incentives
	Build-operate-own-transfer	Value for money	Access
	Design-build-operate	Maintenance and sustainability	Responsiveness
Capacity building	Knowledge network	Skills transfer	Ownership
	Twinning	Intellectual capital	Agency
	Contract	Social capital	Empowerment
	Partnership agreement (MOU)	Organizational systems and output	Autonomy/independence
Economic development	Joint venture	Poverty reduction	Equity
	Contract	Profitability	Social inclusion
	Partnership agreement (MOU)	Sustainability	Empowerment

[Source: Brinkerhoff, Derick and Jennifer Brinkerhoff. (2011). Public-Private Partnerships: Perspectives on Purposes, Publicness, and Good Governance. Page 8 Table 1. Public-private partnerships: a purpose-based taxonomy]

This table above shows the breakdown of various partnership goals, the structures that need to be in place and the possible metrics to judge performance. While the allure of cross-sector partnerships can be appealing to an organization, these guidelines help assure that it is a fruitful relationship between both organizations.

Social Media

The use of social media is mentioned as an ancillary tool of many community development organizations which could be expanded upon to increase their impact if used in the proper way (Scearce et al. 2010). It is also one of the more cost effective ways to help organize a community and receive feedback on possible initiatives and developments. While noting that the idea of social networks is not new, the advancement of technology has allowed them to be accessed, visualized and collaborated within a much greater scale. The authors highlight using networks works best when trying to build community and strengthen social capital, accessing multiple perspectives, building and sharing knowledge and best practices, and mobilizing people and resources around an issue. Challenges include the lack of centralized leadership

and experts on the subject. Below is a chart showing when it is suggested a social media network should be utilized and when a more traditional approach should be used

When to Use a Networked Approach

Consider a networked approach when the effort calls for:	Use a more traditional approach when the effort calls for:
Multiple perspectives or group participation	Specialized expertise or verifiable accuracy
Mobilization and engagement	Efficiency and speed of execution
A shared and dispersed leadership style	A command-and-control leadership style
Open and public information	Private and proprietary information

[Source: Searce, Diana and Gabriel Kasper and Heather McLeod Grant. (2010). Working Wikily. Page 34 When to Use a Networked Approach]

A case study of social networks being utilized for community development activities is found in an article out of Scotland (Matthews, 2015). The article investigated a working class neighborhood in Edinburgh and their use of a Facebook page to organize and empower local residents. After a neighborhood newspaper lost funding and ceased operation, a resident started going through their archives and collecting articles and photos of other residents. As more people began to be “tagged” in photos, more started following the group and its postings. This led to residents posting original written reflections of the neighborhood, which gathered more attention. Researcher’s interview with participants found that the group’s activities

“are contributing to the creation of new networks, skill building and engaging with a wider range of people, including stronger links between organizations involved. This was logically linked to giving local people a stronger voice to make the neighborhood better.”

Matthews is quick to point out the limitations of social media organizing, as real world leadership was needed to advance any initiative (a theme echoed by Searce et al.), but it did demonstrate that low cost social media services can be utilized for organizing in a community.

Element Six contained articles which provided case studies of organizations and how they developed cross-sector relationships and what organizations can do to create their own relationships and build consensus. They also provide low cost tools which can be used by neighborhood organizations to help create relationships within their community.

7. ELEMENT SEVEN: LEADERSHIP/CAREER PIPELINE. A number of different easily-accessible academic/credentialing tracks and academic “placements,” starting in middle/high school, for aspiring and current community development practitioners to pursue to generate a robust pipeline of practitioners, especially those of color from Detroit.

Summary of Element Seven Literature:

In order for a leadership pipeline to become established, there needs to a strong partnership between community organizations and institutes of learning like universities and intermediaries. The literature focuses on what makes partnerships between universities and community organizations successful and what organizations can do to maximize staff trainings.

University and Community College Community Outreach

There are several articles that highlight the relationship between institutions of higher learning and their relationship with the community and with community development initiatives (McRae, 2012; Albuлесcu, Albuлесcu, 2014; Clifford, Petrescu, 2012). There is indication that universities and community colleges are willing to develop greater ties to their surrounding community if certain concerns and obstacles are overcome. First there must be a reciprocal relationship between the university and the community. Clifford and Petrescu summarize this by asking “1. Are we giving our clients or partners something useful? Are we enhancing their capacity in some way? 2. Are we giving the faculty an opportunity to learn something? Do the faculty members further their research agendas in some way?” Conducting a cost benefit analysis on both sides of the relationship lets both parties know moving forward that their basic needs will be addressed.

Clifford and Petrescu note that the relationship can breakdown if certain challenges are present. In their research, a theme of challenges and opportunities on the university side of the collaboration fell into the following categories; internal (making sure the university places value on the community activity and can handle internal conflict), external (handling power imbalances with community partners appropriately) and personal (identifying the right faculty partners and creating community work environment).

Each of these three categories is dissected in a case study of Eastern Michigan University and it’s the Institute for the Study of Children, Families and Communities. Over the years, the Institute began to grow and gained a greater focus on community engagement. In order to succeed and overcome the potential obstacles, diligently to make sure they remained connected to the community.

Internally, they created value for the community by forming the Nonprofit Leadership Alliance program and creating graduate certificate programs for nonprofit management

and community building and increasing student involvement in community learning and volunteering projects. To reduce friction within the university and between departments working at the Institute, they created a “Turf-Free Zone”. No one department ran the Institute and the staff reported directly to the Office of the Provost.

Externally, in order to avoid perceptions of elitism and “ivory tower” connotations, the Institute made sure community members were represented in the leadership of every project it undertook. The institute also reached out to the community, providing expertise, economic support and creating partnerships between community organizations and the public sector, which created trust and provided legitimacy to the Institute.

In the Personal category, the Institute worked with faculty to integrate their research and interests in to programing, identified entrepreneurial faculty and recruited them to come work at the Institute and worked with the university to incorporate community engagement projects into the tenure and promotion system in place.

Factors in creating a successful university and community partnerships were also examined by Mtawa and colleagues (Mtawa et al. 2015). Using previous research done by Ernest Boyer, who advocated for a less rigid structure of research, teaching and community engagement when it came to the surrounding area surrounding the university, the authors applied this framework in a study of universities and communities in Tanzania.

They conclude that in order for community engagement to survive at a University through Boyer’s framework, there needs to be several pre-conditions. First, the role of universities in community development must be established by the national and regional government. Second, there needs to be strong alignment between community engagement and research. This provides a space where for knowledge application with feedback to educators on application. Third, equitable engagement focused on mutuality and reciprocity should be the basis of any partnership. As Clifford and Petrescu noted, there needs to be two-way exchange in order for the relationship to be successful.

Stewart and Alrutz also examine the university-community relationship, in this cases using a long-term romantic relationship as a metaphor as to how to create a lasting campus-community partnership (Stewart, Alrutz 2011). The authors contest that in order for partnerships with universities to be successful, the relationship needs to move beyond a transactional relationship to a transformative one. Below is a graph on differences between Transactional and Transformative relationship goals.

Criteria	Transactional	Transformative
Basis of relationship	Exchange-based and utilitarian	Focus on ends beyond utilitarian
End goal	Satisfaction with exchange	Mutual increase in aspirations
Purpose	Satisfaction of immediate needs	Arouses needs to create larger meaning
Roles played by partners	Managers	Leaders
Boundaries	Accepts institutional goals	Examines institutional goals
Support of existing institutional goals	Works within systems to satisfy interests and partners	Transcends self-interests to create larger meaning
Partner identity	Maintains institutional identity	Changes group identity and larger definition of community
Scope of commitment	Limited time, resources, and personnel to specific exchanges	Engages whole institutions and potentially unlimited exchanges

[Source: Stewart, Trae and Megan Alrutz. (2011). Meaningful Relationships: Cruxes of University-Community Partnerships for Sustainable and Happy Engagement. Page 46 Table 1: Transactional and Transformative Relationship]

The authors present a list of cruxes which they believe should be present in creating a transformative partnership with a university.

Putting Yourself on the Market – Universities and partner organizations will struggle if motives are unclear and goals are not determined. If they have not identified and worked on their challenges, they will not be ready to partner. To overcome this challenge, universities and organizations need to self-reflect to identify the issue and develop the infrastructure to address it.

Building on Existing Relationships – The authors note that positive partnerships were often grew out of existing relationships and moved beyond individual projects.

Making Quality Face Time – As in romantic relationships, the amount of time spent physically present has a positive correlation on how the partnership is perceived. Authors suggest academics met at community offices to make partners more comfortable and open

Naming What You Need and Want – Clear expectations of the partnership need to be established early. Bottom-lines and areas of negotiation need to be discussed to know each other's needs, strengths, goals, limitations, expertise and self-interests.

Actions Speak Louder than Words – Partnerships require planning as well as action. “Maintaining relationship satisfaction is directly tied to outcomes that exceed partners’ minimal expectations”.

Opposites Attract – Partnerships are still possible, even if mission, activities or values do not align exactly. Joint goals can be created together for specific projects and differences can make one partner uniquely qualified to achieve them.

Managing Baggage - Universities need to understand the constraints facing many of their community partners. The partners need to be treated with compassion and flexibility and universities need to listen to the issues that communicate on how to work through them.

Addressing Conflict – The authors suggest laying out the guidelines for addressing conflict as the partnership develops. Conversations on ownership, expectations and responsibilities should happen first and if problems arise they should be dealt with early.

Routine Maintenance – Forming and maintaining a connection between partners is important. Time should be made to assess needs and challenges, send notes of support and recognition and appreciation. Public recognition on websites and other materials displays the commitment to the partnership.

It’s not you, it’s me – When partnerships dissolve, they need to end sympathetically, tactfully and with enough time for dependent partners to find suitable replacements.

Internal Training

Pitcoff provides an extensive account of the challenges of organizational training efforts but also the many rewards training can provide an organization (Pitcoff, 2004). Because staff training does not come naturally to many community development organizations, they tend to shy away from it or fail to seek an entry point where they can engage their workers. There is often more immediate crisis that needs staff and financial resources as well. Even when directors do dedicate resources to staff training there are challenges moving forward. Investing in staff does not mean they will remain at the organization afterward, their new skills can make them more desirable elsewhere. Also, there is not one effective way to delivery human capital development, each organization and training is different.

To overcome these challenges Pitcoff presents the following suggestions; flexibility of the organization, being open to multiple strategies and remain attentive to see what works best, communicating the value of training to staff members and proving incentives to encourage them, connecting the context of the trainings with the content provided, providing an accurate goals and objectives of curriculum allows staff to select the trainings that help them the most, and integrate trainings with organizational

capacity building to assure that after staff leaves there is a human capacity system in place.

Additionally, Pitcoff provides human capital suggestions specific to the community development field. Short training sessions need to involve staff not just lecture to them.

“Practitioners need to be a part of something bigger, like peer learning, peer exchange, coaching and other models that build on each other. You need to take individuals away from their organizations so they can’t be distracted and they need to have the time and space to roll up their sleeves and have a product they can act on when they go back to their organization. That makes workshops worthwhile.”

In addition, lessons from trainings need to be: “Specific enough so they can be applied right away, but broad enough so they can be used later as well. The best training is about frameworks that can be used in many different situations, rather than the nitty-gritty details about everything.”

At the college and university level, he notes that programs that present a broad view of the community development field, encompassing planning, social work and public policy, are much more effective. Pitcoff also notes a unique situation to the community development field, the fact that many of the original leaders of CDCs are now aging out and retiring leaving talent and leadership gaps at many organizations. He suggests developing a larger management team, possibly through the support of foundations, can help develop high level management talent which can be used to succeed outgoing leaders.

Articles for Element Seven are broken fall into two categories, how universities and community partners can create successful relationships and how organizations can train staff internally. Each of these methods can be utilized to help develop a pathway for CDOs to train interested practitioners who would like to advance their career in community development.

Social Cohesion

Social Cohesion Defined

Social cohesion a concept traditionally studied by sociologists. It is the study of relationships between community actors, both positive and negative. More recently the interests in social cohesion have grown past the theoretical and into the practical application of social cohesion. Developing a universally agreed upon operational definition of social cohesion has been difficult to define. Three basic criteria of social cohesion have been identified: trust, a sense of a common identity, and a common behavior indicating a sense of communal belonging (Chan Et al. 2006). The presence of these components creates what is known as social cohesion, also referenced in some literature as social capital. However there is a distinction that should be noted, as the

two are not in fact synonymous. Rather they have potential to positively support one another.

Why is social cohesion important?

Social cohesion has been linked to quality of life in many dimensions by most of the literature currently reviewed. There are strong ties between social cohesion and community mental health, physical health, poverty levels, and more.

Much of the research indicated that high levels of social cohesion reduce poor health outcomes in a neighborhood (Rios, Zautra, 2011, Cradock et al. 2008, Kim et al. 2013, Bjornstorm et al. 2013, Echeverria et al., 2007, Baum, 2009). Research has shown that areas with greater social cohesion have residents who are more physically active and are at a lower risk of stroke, have lower rates of smoking and drinking.

Research has analyzed the connection between social cohesion and mental health in various urban settings (Johns et al 2011, Erdem et al. 2015, Erdem et al. 2016, Fone et al., 2007). High neighborhood cohesion is associated with decreased psychological distress, lower distress during periods of unemployment, and less likely to have residents who experience a PTSD triggering event.

Social Cohesion also played a role reducing violence and property crime in neighborhoods (Lee, 2000; Baum et. al, 2009; Markowitz et al., 2001; Nieuwbeerta et al., 2008; Wilkinson, 1999). Research shows that lower levels of social cohesion increase the probability of homicide for residents increase the rate of burglary, and victimization of crime in general.

Within the context of the BECDD Seven Elements, there are several articles which broaden and expand the literature review conducted above. When viewed through the lens of social cohesion, there are new insights which can be brought to several of the elements.

For Element one, the concept of structural cohesion (Moody, White, 2003), is an important factor to consider when constructing a collaborative system of equal partners. Structural cohesion is defined by the authors as the minimum number of actors who, if removed from a group, would disconnect the group. The authors suggest the concept of structural cohesion can provide a measure of social solidarity of a group, indicating the stronger the structural cohesion of a group the more like they are able to maintain ties and work together. The level of structural cohesion can be linked with the number of links each member has with any other member of the group. The example given is if a group contains several members who all only have a connection between them and one other member (for instanced one member acting as a leader) and no connections made between anyone else, than that group would be view as fragile in the structurally cohesive sense. The authors recommend expanding the connections in a group and expanding the “nodes” or members with multiple connections to help strengthen the

structural cohesiveness of a group. This information can be used when constructing a system of community development practitioners working towards shared goals.

Important to Element Two is an article concerning investment in a neighborhood and the relation to social cohesion (Stafford et al., 2003). Researchers found that social cohesion (in this study, classified as trust, attachment, practical help and tolerance or respect) was found to be lower in areas found to be materially deprived. In the study of English and Scottish neighborhoods, researchers found that residents had more locally based relationships as opposed to a mix of local and further away relationships in more materially stable neighborhoods. They also found trust, attachment to the neighborhood, tolerance and were highest in more financially stable neighborhoods. These findings make the case that more capitalization of an area leads to greater social cohesion among its residents.

Researchers noted the general disparity of the use of equating neighborhood characteristics and a lack of easily administered documentation of evaluation those characteristics, a component essential to Element Three (Caughy et al. 2001). The article includes a breakdown of the street level analysis developed, designed for universal use, which can give an indication of neighborhood social cohesion. Under the category Physical Incivilities, items include graffiti present, vacant residences, and litter, under Territoriality, items includes residences with security bars, borders or hedges and, decorations. Play resources included children playing, usable public playground and busy streets. The list of observable characteristics was designed to be quick and easy to implement for groups looking to evaluate a neighborhood.

An article relating to Element Four formulated a study based on a call from British politicians and commentators that the country was becoming “too diverse” to maintain social cohesion and that a focus on common values and ideals and not heterogeneity. The study finds however, that there is no evidence of racial diversity reducing interactions on the local level and that diverse interactions improve perceptions of a neighborhood. The study also found that racial diversity did have a negative effect on perceptions and trust of neighbors.

Findings of a number of articles suggest that Element Five (capacity building), Element Six (neighborhood voice), and Element Seven (career & education pathways) would require trust building, openness (e.g., open communication), relationship building, and collaborative practice in order to create an influential city wide neighborhood voice and an environment for more effective capacity building, technical training, and education.

While not all of the Elements are fully covered in the social cohesion literature review, it is clear that it can have a significant impact on the quality of life of a neighborhood. Community organizations should be mindful of the levels of social cohesion in their neighborhoods and include it in evaluation efforts.

Three Deep Dive City Study Results

Cleveland, Ohio

Cleveland's long history of community development and strong environment for CDCs to operate has made it a natural subject for study. Many of the BECDD Elements have are covered in articles studying Cleveland's community development initiatives. Two articles investigate specific development tools, affordable housing and the Cleveland Land Bank (Fujii, 2016, Silverman et al., 2015). In his study of affordable housing spending in cities across the country, including Cleveland, Silverman and colleagues found that affordable housing tends to be located in areas with socioeconomic isolation and neighborhood distress. They recommend a strategy of building closer to city anchors institutions to create more equity for low-income residents. The study of Cleveland's land use and ownership found that inappropriate property transfers by banks and land speculators negatively impacted neighborhoods while the two land banks in Cleveland and neighborhood CDCs working together provided positive outcomes.

Two articles study evaluation methods in Cleveland, one on the uses of GIS and the other a neighborhood evaluation based on real estate prices (Kellogg, 1999, Galster et al., 2005). While the GIS article is too outdated to be useful, Galster et al. analyzed neighborhood data from several U.S. cities, including Cleveland to develop an evaluation method which can be used in any city. They used Home Mortgage Disclosure Act data and identified the categories of mortgage approval rates, loan amounts, loan applications and Dunn and Bradstreet data on businesses comprise to determine variation between cities.

There are two articles which investigate partnerships in the Cleveland community development environment. One details an overview of what services intermediaries provide (Mcdermott, 2004) another which provided a case study of a Cleveland CDC which struggled to build capacity and create partnerships which would move their organization forward (Lowe, 2005).

Finally, there are several articles which compare the community development environment of Cleveland to other cities (Dewar, 2013, Thomson, Etienne, 2016, Casey, 2014). Both Dewar and Thomson and Etienne favorability compare Cleveland to Detroit and to Detroit and Baltimore, respectfully. Each note the support system (be it political, financial, or intermediaries) for CDCs is much more robust in Cleveland, which has their community development network thrive, even in the face of challenges like the great recession. Casey compares the CDBG allocation process between Cleveland and St. Louis. She finds that CDCs and the public are much more involved in Cleveland as opposed to St. Louis, elected aldermen have much more control of the process.

Boston, Massachusetts

Boston is another city with a rich history of community development and successful CDCs. Perhaps due to its proximity to numerous colleges and universities, it is also well studied and analyzed.

One of the best articles is a case study of a hospital expansion and how the surrounding neighborhood responded to the development (Hutson, 2013). The article describes how a local CDC was able to create a broad coalition of stakeholders to work with the hospital to assure that community concerns were addressed.

There are two articles highlighting success Boston has had working with the government (Jennings, 2010) and developing comprehensive community development initiatives (Perkins et al., 2003). Jennings gives a detailed account of all of the development that was able to happen thanks to the Boston Empowerment Zone between 1999 and 2009. In the Perkins article, noted how successful the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative had been in adding community health and substance abuse prevention initiatives into its programming.

Boston was one of the subjects of multistate studies of evaluation methods. Like Cleveland it was used the evaluation of cities to develop an evaluation based on mortgage data (Galster et al., 2005). Boston is also one of the cities used to develop an evaluation method called the adjusted interrupted time-series (Galster et al., 2004) but note that appears too unreliable to use in its current form.

There are two case studies of outreach efforts done in the Roxbury neighborhood of Boston (Jennings and Colon, 1994, Jennings, 2004). Both note how residents were able to participate in the development process in the neighborhood to assure that their concerns and feed back to proposed changes in their area were heard and addressed.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Philadelphia as only included as a case study city in two of the articles. The first, investigated the impact of CDBG funding on the area surrounding a development (Pooley, 2013). It found that funding for home ownership, versus funding for rental housing programs, had a larger impact on improving a neighborhood housing market. The second article was an in depth look at the effort to Philadelphia school district reforms (Christman, 2003). While much of this is taken up by discussing education policy, the takeaway of uniting advocates to form a larger coalition is one that has been repeated in community development research.

Seven Comparison City Study Results

Element One- Glenwood, Washington, Orlando, Florida

The case study of Mount Adams Resource Stewards (MARS) is one example of Element One and its goals (Molden et al., 2016). The founder of MARS set out to create

a network of community forestry and reached out to organizations and stakeholders with similar goals. In order to gain legitimacy, he worked with area leaders and representatives to gain trust and legitimacy. Working with local organizations MARS was able to gain trust and credibility by demonstrating tangible results and upholding commitments made to the community. It then used this community trust to galvanize support of the organizations long term conservation efforts. In this case, governance is really between local governments and any agreements they develop between themselves and other organizations.

While not specific to urban community development, the case study of MARS provides a guide of how a network of likeminded organizations can be created with influence and input from the community.

The second example from Orlando, Florida is a case study of the institution which provides governance for all economic development activities for the metropolitan region (Hawkins et al., 2015). The study determined that an organization which provides support collaboration create more positive benefits to the overall community as opposed to provide resources which align and create competition.

The authors further note the potential benefits of informal policy networks. Specifically when it came to elected officials who are active in networks, they found they are more supportive of collaborating on service delivery and it suggests “embeddedness provides opportunities to develop mechanisms to coordinate activities and enhance metropolitan governance”. These networks also provide an opportunity for potential partners to signal through promises and actions with the network that they are a trustworthy collaborator and gain legitimacy. While this specific case study focused on an economic development network, the findings can be broadly used by other types of networks, including a potential community development network.

Element Two – Chicago, Illinois

Chicago is mentioned several times in the article (Benjamin, Rubin, Zielenbach, 2004) analyzing community development financial institutions and their capabilities in helping deliver financial services to community organizations. While the city and its organizations are not the basis of the article, Chicago comes up as an example in breakdowns of financial tools available. The South Shore Bank which assists potential low income markets secure mortgages and increase the number of loans to people of color is one of the oldest Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) in the country. In addition to home loans, CDFIs can also provide small business development loans and micro-loan funds to entrepreneurs.

Element Three – Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The overview of GIS utilization in Milwaukee is the best case study regarding Element Three. It gives a detailed breakdown of how the local city government and the Departments of City Development and Neighborhood Services have had a long history

of working with individuals and organizations by providing GIS data. At the time of the publishing of the case study (Ghose, 2003) it was noted that this was a rare practice for a city to be open to sharing information on that level.

The article describes how local organizations are able to use the GIS data and how the partnership with the city regarding GIS data has shaped long term planning in neighborhood organizations. By using GIS data, organizations are able to create strategies and plans for individual blocks in their neighborhood and track progress overtime. With the yearly data they can display areas of success and parts of the neighborhood that still need further attention.

For example, after a map was created showing all the vacant parcels in their neighborhood a resident of the Harambee neighborhood is quoted as saying “seeing the map can really hit you...I’ve lived in this area for twenty something years and I know there were vacant lots, but I didn’t know the degree until I saw the maps”. Community organizers also note how GIS data is able to be used for evaluation purposes, mapping crimes over several years of data. The GIS data was also used by community groups to solicit donations and to present investment opportunities to banks and business in retail corridors.

Element Four – Orlando, Florida

Authors detail how community leaders, residents and government officials worked together to create a community-based organization (Glaser et. al, 1997). The article analyzes the relationship between government and citizen and how the community can be empowered. The authors note the importance of information sharing and communication between the local government and stakeholders to secure citizen participation to assure that they become engaged in the process.

In the case study, it was found that community empowerment, as in engaging the community as coproducers, is a key determinate of success and requires strong leadership. The study examined the role of the Orange County Commission in the establishment of a new community organization and its effort to include citizen involvement. With the creation of a citizen committee which could be a part of the decision making process and help determine priorities, local residents were empowered to make an impact on their community

Element Five – Lowell, Massachusetts

The city of Lowell, Massachusetts is analyzed in two case studies of how local community groups have added capacity to help adapt to changing environments (Gittell, Wilder, 1999, Turcotte et al., 2015).

The first study profiles A Coalition for a Better Acre (CBA) and notes that its original mission was to provide immediate support and organizing services to a neighborhood in Lowell. In 1980s and 90s Lowell began to experience revitalization in some of its

neighborhoods but not in the area served by CBA. The neighborhood was made up predominantly of residents of Puerto Rican decent and had high crime and deteriorating housing. The city government proposed wide scale demolition and redevelopment but CBA stepped in to prevent the loss of neighborhood identity and come up with another solution. One of the strategies was to develop affordable housing which caused the CBA to move from its previous mission as a organizing and community advocate into a housing developer. This required them to add quickly add housing development capacity within the organization in order to see their vision through. By quickly adapting to changing conditions in their neighborhood, CBA was able to successfully add the required capacity and now has created hundreds of permanent affordable housing units in the neighborhood. .

In the second, a review of CDCs and their foreclosed property rehab programs capacity is evaluated. This study reviewed how CBA and other housing CDCs in Lowell functioned. It found that a significant amount of capacity and resources are required to redevelop abandoned and foreclosed housing. It noted that organizations can be undercut by government policy and bureaucracy and even if they are successful, uncontrollable market forces can derail and ruin otherwise potentially successful developments.

Both of these case studies show how building capacity can help organizations better serve their residents but also to make sure they are not overextending themselves at risk of ending operations.

Element Six –Buffalo, New York

Case study of Buffalo (Dreier, 2012) demonstrates how an organization can gain broad support from a network of leaders, stakeholders and organizations to achieve positive results

With the formation of the PUSH organization, a former resident moved back, began a community development organization, and began talking with neighborhood residents and leaders. After a year of one-on-one conversations with various community residents and leaders he learned that vacant and blighted buildings were a major concern. Upon investigating, he learned that the state owned many of the vacant and blighted properties. By demanding action through a broad coalition of residents, labor groups, and local professors, his organization was able to gain ownership of many of the properties and obtain funding to start converting them into productive use. He founded a CDC which oversaw the construction and rehabilitation of the properties and hired his labor contacts and local residents to help with construction. He worked with training organizations to get residents certified in home weatherization so they can make their homes energy efficient. PUSH coalition has grown to include environmental groups, small business development advocates and other community organizations.

Element Seven – Ypsilanti, Michigan

The case study of Eastern Michigan University and its Institute for the Study of Children, Families and Communities provides the best example of Element Seven (Clifford, Petrescu, 2012). The article details what needs to go into a successful partnership from both the university and community partner perspective.

The study is an example of how a university and community partners can forge a partnership which helps advance each other's goals. While not specific to a community development certificate or a career pipeline for those interested in the community development field, it provides an example of how a relationship with a college or university can be established in order to create one someday.

The study breaks down what universities can do to develop successful partnerships into three categories. These are internally, externally and personal. Internally, to reduce friction within the university and between departments working at the Institute, they created a "Turf-Free Zone". No one department ran the Institute and the staff reported directly to the Office of the Provost. Externally, in order to avoid perceptions of elitism, the Institute made sure community members were represented in the leadership of every project it undertook. The institute also reached out to the community, providing expertise, economic support and creating partnerships between community organizations and the public sector, which created trust and provided legitimacy to the Institute. In the Personal category, the Institute worked with faculty to integrate their research and interests in to programing, identified entrepreneurial faculty and recruited them to come work at the Institute and worked with the university to incorporate community engagement projects into the tenure and promotion system in place.

Conclusion

The aim of this report was to conduct a comprehensive literature review of articles related to the Seven Elements provided by BECCD. Through the process, a several scans of potentially relevant articles were conducted and all of those articles were analyzed for the usefulness to the BECCD elements. The following is the perceived takeaways for each of the Seven Elements:

Element One – Any network formed needs to be inclusive to potential members and viewed as legitimate representative of the community. This is accomplished by making a concerted effort to include organizations with a diverse viewpoints and establishing trust by making and keeping promises and going beyond what is expected to serve the network.

Element Two – There are tools available to neighborhood organizations which can help secure financial resources for development efforts in their neighborhood. It is important for CDOs to know all the financial tools available to them so development strategies can be created which can utilize their capital. This has the ability spur development in the surrounding area and create a cascading effect the surrounding area.

Element Three – There are many tools and guidelines available for CDOs who seek to evaluate their neighborhood. Depending on the resources and commitment an organization is willing to put in, the data captured can be used to develop long term neighborhood strategies and track the progress of initiatives. It is important for an organization to be aware of conditions in their neighborhood, but it is equally important to be aware of their own stability and health.

Element Four – Working with the government, whether it is through partnership or through allocation of CDBG funding should be carefully considered before executing. Partnering with a local government has the potential to provide financial support, increase legitimacy and provide services to an area the organization has a deep knowledge of. CDBG funding can provide much needed financial support that can be distributed across a variety of organizational wide uses. But organizations need to make sure they have the capacity to fulfill the requirements of any partnership, be it service delivery or financial reporting. It is also important to know the politics of CDBG allocation before attempting to secure funding.

Element Five – Organizations need to be cognizant of how and when building their capacity is best for them. While capacity building efforts can be useful for an organization's staff and mission, it can be expensive and difficult to implement. Literature suggests that collaborating with other organizations can help capacity building efforts succeed by sharing what strategies worked and which did not. Conditions need to be created for capacity building to be successful, like follow up training and online resources to assure that efforts are not wasted.

Element Six- Developing a broad coalition and building gaining consensus among members is important to achieving goals established by any cross-sector initiatives or partnerships. It is important for organizations to gain support from residents and deliver on promises to establish legitimacy and develop trust with the community. Low cost tools are available online to help create a connection to a community and organize a community voice.

Element Seven – In order for any partnership with a college or university to be successful, there needs to be open communication and mutual respect between community partners and the institution. When these conditions are established, a partnership where each party's goals can be achieved. In turn, there are conditions that an organization needs to create to develop staff internally. When these conditions are created, then a pathway for those interested in a career in community development can have access to the tools necessary them to be successful.

Social Cohesion - Social cohesion plays a strong part in the health and quality of life of a neighborhood. Conditions which help create a more cohesive environment of residents should be monitored to help improve the health of the neighborhood and the residents themselves.

Results of Site Visits

During the course of the BECDD (Building the Engine of Community Development in Detroit) investigation process, Cleveland, Ohio; Boston, Massachusetts; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania were all chosen for deeper, on-site research. Detroit community development stakeholders traveled to these four cities to get a better understanding of how a community development system works in each area, how each city's system has affected its neighborhoods, and what the implications are for Detroit. In general, each visit included the diverse group of participants that represented most of Detroit's community development stakeholder groups. In each city, participants met with individuals from each city representing the public sector, intermediary organizations, funders, and local practitioners.

The community development environment in each of the cities was unique to the opportunities and challenges presented in that individual city. Boston housing prices and low vacancy levels created a tremendous demand for affordable housing, but there are few neighborhoods that have been able to develop new affordable housing units, and the cost to acquire property and develop it is incredibly high. In Indianapolis, due to the large size of the city, there has been outward development toward the edge of the city for years, leaving many central city neighborhoods disinvested. Philadelphia is experiencing large investment in its downtown area, but has much more blighted and abandoned housing than the other two cities. Cleveland has been one of the three biggest population losers since 2010 (the other two cities are Detroit and Toledo; Census 2015). Another significant challenge that Cleveland is addressing is more than 12,000 vacant properties (Western Reserve Land Conservancy, 2016).

Cleveland, Ohio

In Cleveland, philanthropy is focused on the high-performer community development corporations (CDCs) by providing operating support for them to achieve real estate outcomes. Moreover, large-scale public funding provides the base that builds capacity for a large number of CDCs across the city through training—in both up and down markets. Cleveland's community development block grant (CDBG) program provides \$450,000 per year for each Council Ward for CDC operating support. It appears that this process is more political in nature, but provides a cushion (i.e., an average of \$65,000 annually) for CDCs. In addition, Cleveland Neighborhood Progress (CNP; clevelandnp.org 2017) funds eight CDCs up to \$250,000 each year for operating support for three years through their "Strategic Investment Initiative (SII)." CNP also funds technical training and capacity-building efforts for a large number of CDCs. CNP promotes a dashboard to measure progress in neighborhoods by using outcomes that include, but are not limited to, CDC advancement, placement, economic opportunity, and policy and advocacy.

Cleveland Neighborhood Progress and Collaboration of Funders

Cleveland Neighborhood Progress (CNP) funds 8-9 high-performing CDCs each year on a three-year cycle. The total funds for this initiative are about \$1.4 million per year. It appears that the initiative provides fairly consistent and predictable funding for a subset of CDCs.

City of Cleveland's CDBG Program

CDCs in Cleveland have the opportunity to receive \$65,000 in annual support from the City CDBG program. CDCs have an additional opportunity to obtain additional CDBG commitments each year from the CDBG funds that are heavily influenced by their local council members. These funds are not guaranteed, but appear to be consistent and predictable. These two sources of funds total \$6 million to \$7 million annually and create a base of support that enables CDCs to build capacity and continue from year to year.

Cleveland Neighborhood Progress and Technical Assistance

CNP also funds capacity building efforts for a broader range of CDCs that are not selected for operational funding. It appears that CNP provides technical assistance to, and coordination among, all Cleveland CDCs (roughly 27 in total, covering virtually every neighborhood). CNP supports a focus on key neighborhood strategies such as affordable housing, placemaking, green space development, resident decision making, integration of racial equity and inclusion into CDC practices, school partnerships, collaborations among CDCs and cross-sector collaboration between CDCs and other institutions, and mergers and new start-ups among CDCs.

Neighborhood Progress Measures

According to CNP, to measure progress in neighborhoods, two indicators in particular define the success of a Cleveland neighborhood: the trend of the change in the median sale price of homes (trends in rental costs for non-home buying markets); and median household income. CNP, which calls these indicators Progress Metrics, uses them as a starting point for evaluating progress in neighborhoods. CNP uses Progress Drivers (factors that influence the sale price of a home and people's decisions to purchase them, which drive neighborhood vitality and success). Progress Drivers include diversity, education, housing, household makeup, income mix, population, quality of life, stabilization, and vacancy. CNP created the Progress Index as a system and guide to measure progress in Cleveland neighborhoods by monitoring trends in these two key areas. CNP also uses the system of metrics to track CDCs. It appears that its current system is a relatively new version of metrics since the process of becoming web-based. The CNP Progress Index includes data related to property (median sales price of residential parcels and median gross rent), income (median household income and poverty rate), population, racial/ethnic diversity, safety (crime), stabilization (residential occupancy rate), community (attitudes and perceptions), health (mortality and life expectancy), education (3rd grade math and reading proficiency), workforce (employment rate), and economy (jobs in neighborhood)

Boston, Massachusetts

Boston's community development efforts are led by the Massachusetts Association of Community Development Corporations, or MACDC) (macdc.org, 2017) and the local chapter of Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) (lisc.org/boston, 2017). Together they tackle neighborhood development efforts like providing affordable housing, creating economic opportunity, and helpinging to develop community leadership. They also serve as the advocates for CDCs on the local and state level, and work with local neighborhood organizations to craft policy and set organizational goals. Through the work of MACDC and LISC Boston MACDC has been able to achieve success within the community development network in Boston.

Community Investment Tax Credit

The Community Investment Tax Credit (CITC) is a 50% tax credit against Massachusetts tax liability for donations to CDCs and intermediaries (lisc.org/boston/citc, 2017, Kriesberg, 2013). Joe Kriesberg, President of MACDC, explained the impetus for the credit came out of a necessity created from a decline in state funding. Due to a newly elected official's disapproval of CDCs and their operation, state funding to CDCs was cut severely. Kriesberg recognized the fragility of a funding system that could be crippled by the animosity of one elected official and decided to provide a different way to fund CDCs and their support organizations. Using the large coalition of MACDC member organizations, he advocated for a new law that would allow donations to CDCs to be eligible for a 50% tax credit.

In order to be able to receive funds, an organization must be certified as a community development corporation by the Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD) and must be engaged in their community and with residents, and have a core focus on community development activities. Once certified, a CDC can apply to the DHCD to receive an allocation of the tax credit funding or it can receive the donation directly. Since its creation in 2012, the value of available tax credits has grown to \$6 million.

The effort to get the Tax Credit law passed was led by MACDC, which represented the interests of all its member organizations, but also used those members relationship with their local elected officials. As a member CDC director put it, MACDC "...helps coordinate the coalition so we all speak together with one voice, which is much more effective.". Coordinated efforts with MACDC and LISC Boston, like the effort to pass the CITC, are accomplished through strong intermediary organizations.

Mel King Institute for Community Building

The Mel King Institute is the conception of MACDC to develop a space where community development leaders can advance their skills and knowledge

(melkinginstitute.org, 2017). They offer training in real estate development and affordable housing, nonprofit management, economic development, and community organizing. This training is offered to community development professionals, volunteers, and board members as well as to individuals from the public (local and state government), private (banking, legal, real estate) and nonprofit (foundation, public health, education) fields. The year-round training covers a wide range of topics and skill sets, from basic overviews to in-depth studies.

The Institute also houses many of MACDC's Peer Group gatherings. These groups provide opportunities for practitioners to meet, network, and share best practices. Examples of Peer Groups include the Boston Committee, which discusses policy and programs in Boston and aims to create collaboration between city government and CDCs; the CITC Group, which meets to share best practices for CITC fundraising and continued success of the program; and the Housing and Real Estate Group, whose goal is to supplement the training provided by the Institute by creating a support network for real estate practitioners to help each other problem solve and build knowledge and skills.

Indianapolis, Indiana

Indianapolis is by far the largest site visit city in terms of the number of square miles. While many of the outer ring neighborhoods have grown and seen increased prosperity, many of the inter-ring neighborhoods have seen declines. Understanding that the usual ways of doing business were not producing results, intermediaries like LISC Indianapolis, the Indianapolis Neighborhood Resource Center, and funders like the Lilly Endowment sought to fundamentally change the way they provide support. In 2015, LISC Indianapolis and its partner organizations released their updated Strategic Plan, which focused on neighborhoods developing Quality of Life Plans for their areas, and then receiving support to develop those plans (LISC Indianapolis Strategic Plan, 2015, liscindianapolis.org, 2017).

Quality of Life Plans

With the passage of the new Strategic Plan, LISC Indianapolis has prioritized neighborhoods that have their Quality of Life plans approved. The criteria and approval for these plans are formed by four categories defined by LISC and its partners.

In order for a plan to be accepted, a neighborhood needs to provide strategies on how it plans on improving each category. The first area is Livability, which calls for plans on how to improve public safety, increase the accessibility, and production of healthy food, and develop placemaking techniques to develop neighborhood identity. Second, the area of Opportunity seeks strategies on how to develop commercial districts, create support for workforce development, and improve commercial properties. Third, Vitality calls for strategies on how to provide financial and technical assistance for those looking to buy, construct, or renovate a home, with the goal of increasing Indianapolis' population. Fourth, with Education, strategies are sought on how to assist schools and

other educational institutions in the neighborhoods, and supporting programming and enrichment activities for youth.

LISC has several other initiatives that it uses to supplement approved Quality of Life areas. These include Great Places 2020, which seeks to improve neighborhood centers and promote culture, commerce, and community; FOCUS: Works, which is a program designed to improve commercial and industrial areas; and Centers for Working Families, which supports neighborhood centers where residents are provided with a full range of services to help them escape the cycle of poverty.

It is important to note that while LISC Indianapolis has led the effort of implementing the Strategic Plan and approves the plans for each neighborhood, the Quality of Life Plans are used as criteria by most of the cities' intermediaries and its largest foundation, the Lily Endowment. The approval of a neighborhood's quality of life plan provides a level of acceptance and acts as a *de facto* certification.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Philadelphia is currently at an interesting time in its history. While several sections of the city are experiencing increased investment and high demand, there are others that are still coping with abandonment and blight. Among the ten largest cities in the country, Philadelphia contains the highest rate of poverty. The community development trade group, the Philadelphia Association of CDCs (PACDC), and intermediaries like Philadelphia LISC seem to be keenly aware of this dichotomy (pacdc.org, 2017, lisc.org/philly, 2017). Much of the support that is offered is providing assistance in equitable development to make sure longtime residents are able to remain after new investment arrives.

CDC Tax Credit Program

Much like Boston, Philadelphia community development leaders sought to reduce the volatility in organizational funding by creating a dedicated stream of donated funding. Their solution, the CDC Tax Credit, is similar to Boston's Community Investment Tax Credit. In Philadelphia's case, the credit applies only to the city itself and comes in the form of business donations (phila.gov, 2017, Balloon, 2015). Businesses can donate \$85,000 per year for ten years, and that donation equates to a 100% match tax credit. A stipulation for the CDCs is that they must produce a dollar-for-dollar match for the \$85,000 before it is received. Much like the Boston tax credit program, the CDC tax credit program provides a long term funding stream which allows for organizations to make long term plans, knowing a secure line of funding will be coming over the course of several years.

Philadelphia's tax credit was conceived and championed by a local government official, City Councilman Wilson Goode, Jr. With such strong support within the local government already, PACDC and LISC assisted in gathering support from member organizations to pass the legislation.

Site Visit Cities Commonalities

Each of the cities has its own demographics, challenges, and opportunities. However, each has a strong community development environment and each of the cities shares a collection of characteristics that help each environment thrive.

1. Strong Trade Group and Intermediaries

Each city has a LISC affiliate operating in the city, along with a trade organization representing membership community development organizations. LISC and the trade groups help support practitioners and help coordinate and advocate for the policy issues affecting them.

In Cleveland, Cleveland Neighborhood Progress, a strong citywide entity, serves not only as an advocate, but also as a coordinator and capacity-builder for CDCs

2. Collaboration and Coordination between Community Development Corporations, and between Community Development Corporations and Other Partners

A network of collaboration and coordination exists among CDCs in each of the cities; the CDCs help them collectively thrive. In Boston, Peer Support Groups offered through the Mel King Institute provided an opportunity for CDCs to gather to discuss issues affecting their organizations. The institute went as far as offering special sessions depending on job duties, so that directors, program staff, and front office workers could speak with and learn from their peers.

In Indianapolis, the open nature of the Community Development 2.0 plan allowed CDCs to find nearby partners as they saw fit. This created an environment where strategic partnerships were encouraged and allowed to form naturally.

In Cleveland, the collaboration between the funders and CDCs and with the city is extensive, although it happened gradually over many years. Collaboration among CDCs and between CDCs and other institutions (e.g., business, schools, health systems, etc.) also appears to be quite pervasive

3. Predictability, Sustainability, and Diversity in Funding Sources

CDCs in both Boston and Philadelphia worked with their trade organizations, intermediaries, and local elected officials to get tax credit programs benefiting community development passed in their state legislatures. These funds provide consistent funding that can be used for a wide range of operational purposes. This has provided tremendous relief to CDCs, which can now create long term budgeting strategies knowing there is a consistent source of funding coming each year.

While Cleveland does not have a tax credit program similar to those in Boston and Philadelphia, community development in Cleveland has benefited from Cleveland Neighborhood Progress (CNP) and Cleveland's CDBG programs, both of which provide diverse funding sources in a somewhat predictable manner.

4. Support from the Public Sector

In each city there was a complementary relationship with elected officials and city workers. In Philadelphia, a city council member led the effort to pass the tax credit program and worked with practitioners to strengthen relationships. All of the cities visited had an appointed person on staff who worked with the CDC community, and who addressed issues to help guide community development policy at the city level.

5. Training Centers

In addition to fostering collaboration among the CDCs, the intermediaries and trade groups also housed training centers that CDCs use to strengthen their organizations and build capacity. The Mel King Institute in Boston provided a wide range of classes and training that were led by experts and professors from nearby universities; the Community Development Leadership Institute in Philadelphia fills a similar role. The office that housed LISC Indianapolis also housed several other nonprofits and held training sessions for practitioners from all over the city help improve their organizations.

In Cleveland, Cleveland Neighborhood Progress (CNP) partners with governmental and other entities to provide the CDCs with ongoing and consistent training and technical assistance. Cleveland focuses on leadership development and continuous support, while providing technical assistance and operating support to ensure that projects are successful as long as the CDC leadership meets its stated goals.

Connections between Site Visit Cities and Literature Review

The success of the community development environment created in each of the cities visited is due to a number of factors and efforts. As noted above, there are shared characteristics that each city processes which play a part in the neighborhood CDC success. Many of these characteristics are seen in the recommendations and conclusions from articles analyzed for the BECDD literature review. The following section is an overview of what characteristics witnessed in each city are backed up by the findings from the literature review, as well as a listing of characteristics of cities seen in each of the BECDD Elements.

Legitimacy

Legitimacy and its importance within community development is mentioned in several of the articles (Scally, 2011). This notion of legitimacy can take several forms, including a network of CDCs developing initiatives and implementing them, intermediaries offering support and follow-up, or CDCs working with residents to develop goals and achieving

them (Scally, 2011, Walker, McCarthy 2010; Molden, et al. 2016). Whatever the method, there is a sense in the articles that in order for community development efforts to be successful, there needs to be a certain level of legitimacy achieved.

This idea of legitimacy was present in the site visit cities, mainly as a manifestation to provide legitimacy to funding and intermediary networks. In Boston, the CITC legislation from the beginning included the stipulation that organizations applying to become eligible for CITC funding needed to be certified as a community development organization by the state Department of Housing and Community Development. This cleared the way for donors to know that their financial support would be going to reputable organizations that were performing legitimate community development activities in their service areas. In addition to CITC donors, the certification of an organization provides legitimacy and grants accessibility to a wider range of donors. Once certification is achieved, an organization can leverage their CITC donations into matching funds offered by other donors. Because not all community development organizations have gained certification by the DHCD, organizations can use that status to show potential donors that they have achieved a certain level of success and that their operations and programing are worthy of funding.

In Indianapolis, the creation of the Strategic Plan initiative led by LISC Indianapolis has developed a system where neighborhood organizations can gain legitimacy from a wide range of stakeholders. The strategy involves the initial approval of a Quality of Life Plan for a given neighborhood in order to receive financial and technical support. The criteria for Quality of Life Plan approval was developed by LISC to assure that an area can support its goals of livability, opportunity for employment, vitality for growing diverse populations and educational pathways. The approval of a neighborhood Quality of Life Plan provides a level of legitimacy which opens a wide range of support options. This support comes in the form of programs offered by LISC Indianapolis such as the FOCUS: Works commercial districts support program and Great Places 2020, an effort to create centers for culture, commerce and community within neighborhoods. But support also comes from outside of LISC.

Once the Quality of Life Plan is approved, it also signifies to other intermediaries that a neighborhood has achieved a certain standard and is ready for support. Intermediaries represented at the Indianapolis site visit mentioned that they determine whether an organizations service area falls within an approved Quality of Life Plan area before providing financial and technical support. Additionally, the Quality of Life Plans are developed in collaboration with residents and approved plans are available online. This allows community development organizations to be responsive to the needs of their community and develop legitimacy with residents in their service area as they achieve goals outlined in their plan. These plans, in short, provide a quick standard of legitimacy for neighborhoods and organizations within them.

In Cleveland, Cleveland Neighborhood Progress (CNP) funders collaboratively fund eight Cleveland CDCs up to \$250,000 annually for operating support for three years, based on the achievement of objectives through its "Strategic Investment Initiative (SII)."

About 83% of these CDCs are repeat grantees. Making it into the “elite eight” and being recognized as such by a group of citywide funders, the city government, and other key players in community development is one form of legitimacy.

Diversification of Funding

When examining characteristics of successful community development organizations, a reoccurring theme in the readings is the ability of successful organizations to diversify the sources of funding needed to operate (Walker, McCarthy 2010; Rohe, Bratt 2003; Bratt, Rohe 2005). This comes in several forms, from expanding fundraising efforts beyond a reliance on large donors, to moving from an overreliance on development fees for housing (which can fluctuate with the economy), to overcommitting to funding streams which require more resources to accurately report than they provide the organization. Several of the site visit cities also encounter another funding issue mentioned in the readings, which is the inconsistency and unreliability of government funding. Boston and Philadelphia decreased that inconsistency significantly by the creation of tax credit programs, which provide consistent revenue streams for organizations approved to receive funds.

With both of the tax credit programs, the effort shifts away from lobbying local and state government in each budget cycle to assure that funding remains, to securing donors to support their organizations and receive tax credits (in the case of Philadelphia, a 100% credit match, which makes it much less difficult to find willing donors). As a representative of LISC Boston stated, the government funding system before the tax credit is so fragile that the fiscal concerns of one legislator toward community development was able to remove all state funding. The tax credit system provides a much more stable source of funding for organizations to seek.

Organizations receiving the tax credit donor funding have also noted the freedom and security the money provided. Knowing that they were approved for the funding and knowing that it would be relatively simple for them to secure it for several years, provided the consistency needed to undertake long term projects and hire staff. The ability to leverage the certification status and tax credit donors into additional funding also provided additional security to help organizations maintain financial stability.

In the similar vein, Cleveland Neighborhood Progress (CNP) funding, coupled with Cleveland CDBG funds, provide CDCs with some level of predictability, although tax credit programs in Boston and Philadelphia may be more consistent and more predictable than the funding system in Cleveland in many ways.

Collaborative Capacity Building

An interesting concept brought forth in several of the articles was the collaboration implemented to assure that capacity-building strategies were successful (Chaskin, 2000; Carman, Fredericks, 2010; Glickman, Servon, 2010). Added as a requirement by the funders supporting the capacity building, the authors found that capacity building

was often more successful if practitioners came together and discussed best practices, obstacles, and strategies to overcome them. Dubbed “collaborative capacity building” in the literature review, this concept had the potential to sustain the success of organizations capacity building efforts.

A form of collaborative capacity building was seen in Boston through the Mel King Institute. The Institute offers a selection of Peer Group gatherings on a range of topics for practitioners to come together and discuss best practices and engage in topics related to organizational capacity building. Peer Group topics include housing and real estate, small business development, and community organizing. All of these provide a venue for practitioners to convene and discuss their successes and challenges on a variety of capacity building topics.

During the site visit to Boston, the Director (Shirronda Almeida) of the Mel King Institute mentioned that Peer Groups are also available to various employee groups as well. There are opportunities for groups of practitioners, from organization presidents to front office and support staff, to meet and discuss best practices and network with peers. While not specific to capacity-building topics like the other Peer Groups, these staff groups also have a potential to promote collaborative capacity building. If Glickman and Servon’s definition of capacity building is used, it would be that resource capacity, organizational capacity, and programmatic capacity efforts and best practices would be discussed at these gatherings. The meetings in and of themselves are a form of networking

In Philadelphia, PACDC’s Community Development Leadership Institute serves a role that is similar to that of the King Institute. Begun in 2013, the Institute offers training on how to build capacity, mainly focusing on development and housing. Since its creation, 3,000 practitioners have attended such training (pacdc.org, 2017).

While Cleveland did not have anything like the Mel King Institute, one of the leaders of Cleveland Neighborhood Progress (CNP) stated that CNP’s one-day capacity-building institute (which is called the “Progress Institute”) was impactful. That initiative and other sponsored learning opportunities they hosted or organized appear to utilize group activities, roundtables, and social learning. Such gathering, subsequently, might have contributed to building a strong relationship and trust among the stakeholders up and down the spectrum. This observation was frequently made by CNP and other leaders during the Detroit team’s site visit in Cleveland.

Government Relations

In much of the literature reviewed, community development organizations working with local governments is seen as a bit of a necessary evil (Rich et al., 2001; Goetz, Sidney, 1995). Because government officials can hold so much power (direct financial support, ability to enter partnerships, creating and pursuing a future for a neighborhood), the consensus of the articles is that even organizations that consider their mission apolitical, need to engage with the government occasionally. Because of the authority that elected

officials possess, and the because of the complexity of the government bureaucracy that exists, it is understandable why a CDC would be wary of engaging with government officials.

The development organizations of the site visit cities, however, seem to have been able to reduce this concern, and engage with their government as partners with significant results. All of the relevant cities' local governments have departments or representatives that are tasked with working with community development organizations and their representatives. In Boston, Indianapolis, and Cleveland, community development professionals have been tapped to fill government positions, signaling a respect and willingness to work together.

The tax credit donor legislation passed in Boston and Philadelphia are examples showing where a) a strong relationship with government officials was needed in order to achieve the desired result, and b) where such a relation needed in-depth planning. The first effort was to have the intermediary MACDC and PACDC organize their membership, calling on them to lobby their local representatives in a unified voice. The second effort was to convince local government officials that the tax credits would be positive for their local community development environment. The third focus was on creating a statewide coalition of local government and CDCs to help advocate for the legislation at the state government level.

Forester (1988, 1999, 2013) and other scholars wrote about potential benefits of micropolitics in urban planning. Being able to advance an organization's mission to governments and other public entities via micropolitics and public good advocacy is a skill set that CDC practitioners might like to possess.

While the article authors in the literature reviewed note the importance of working with government officials, they also point out some drawbacks and concerns about approaching those in authority. What the site visit cites have shown, is that a strong relationship with local and state government can lead to positive outcomes and a strong community development environment to operate in.

College and University Connections

One of the more interesting observations on each of the site visit cities was the relationship the community had with local colleges and universities. Several of the cities are home to colleges and universities located inside, or just outside, the city limits. Boston and Philadelphia, in fact, are home to some of the greatest universities in the world. However, the literature review indicated that there are numerous ways community development organizations can benefit from local universities and vice versa, so there was a higher expectation of collaboration than what was actually seen (McRae, 2012; Albuлесcu, Albuлесcu, 2014; Clifford, Petrescu, 2012).

In Boston, where the Mel King Institute would seem to be a natural fit for collaboration with any one of the nearby colleges, there is minimal interaction. Director of the Institute

Shirronda Almeida mentioned that professors occasionally assist in training sessions, but when asked why there was not a more formal or extensive relationship with any of the surrounding universities, she noted that focus did not move beyond launching the institute and building the programming. She said she would like to have a more formal relationship, but developing something on that scale would require staff resources that do not exist at the present time.

In Philadelphia, again another city with massive higher educational resources, there also seems to be opportunity for a larger connection. PACDC has an equivalent of the King Institute, the Community Development Leadership Institute, but there is not a strong connection to a local university. This connection, it seems, is left to the CDCs themselves; indeed, the Director of a local CDC mentioned collaboration with Drexel University, which states it seeks to be the most civically connected university in the country. With a clear desire expressed by the higher education community, the fact that there isn't a closer connection throughout the city seems like a missed connection.

In Indianapolis, Ball State's College of Architecture and Planning, and Kent State University's Cleveland's Cleveland Urban Design Collaborative have created urban design studios where students can experience real-world examples and exercises. The design centers also conduct outreach and programs to involve high school students in design fields, in hopes of attracting new students to the profession.

Seven Element and Social Cohesion Examples in Site Visit Cities

ELEMENT ONE: SYSTEM GOVERNANCE.

All of the site visit cities had strong intermediary and community development trade association organizations which have created a network for CDCs to operate successfully. The intermediaries provided capacity-building services and training to member organizations, while also organizing them to advocate for policy change. This cooperation created a level of legitimacy for the intermediaries and CDCs among their residents, and signaled the community development environment in each city to be organized and successful.

ELEMENT TWO: SYSTEM CAPITALIZATION

Boston and Philadelphia both passed tax credit legislation for those donating to CDCs, which provides a tremendous boost to funding and organizational stability. Local practitioners receiving tax credit funding noted how such legislation positively affected their organizations long term planning and strategy.

ELEMENT THREE: DATA AND EVALUATION

LISC Indianapolis and its Strategic Plan have created a system where organizational success can be determined relatively easily. Because a quality of life plan must be approved before an organization is eligible for additional assistance and funding, each

neighborhood independently creates measures of its own success. Once a plan is accepted, it is published online, so that residents, partners, and funders can see what the neighborhood hopes to achieve and how much it still needs to accomplish. LISC itself has its own success goals as well as the criteria to measure these goals.

ELEMENT FOUR: CITY ENGAGEMENT

In each of the site visit cities there was a local government representative or department that worked with community development practitioners to help their organizations succeed. The intermediaries, particularly in Boston and Philadelphia, have also organized their membership and have helped them advocate for policy change using a unified voice.

ELEMENT FIVE: ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY BUILDING AND CERTIFICATION

Boston's Mel King Institute is a great example of an organization dedicated to capacity building and serving the needs of CDCs. Not only does it facilitate training on a wide range of subject matter, it also provides the opportunity for practitioners to gather and discuss best practices for capacity building to be successful. By providing the training as well as a forum for organizations to learn from each other, the Mel King Institute is providing the tools needed for organizations to be successful in their efforts to build capacity.

ELEMENT SIX: NEIGHBORHOOD VOICE

The bottom-up nature of Indianapolis' Quality of Life plan approval was a great example of Element Six from the site visits. Because of the open-ended aspect of the plan, neighborhoods independently determined their boundaries, their strategies, and their desired partners, community organizations can develop plans that address their neighborhood needs and values.

ELEMENT SEVEN: LEADERSHIP/CAREER PIPELINE

Several of the Site Visit cities have a token relationship with area universities and other academic entities. Based on what has been included in the literature review and the number and reputation of the colleges and universities around them, it is disappointing that there are not many stronger relationships already in place.

SOCIAL COHESION

Indianapolis and its Strategic Plan had several strategies and initiatives to increase social cohesion. The Quality of Life Plan criteria include many social cohesion indicators including crime reduction, walkability, and healthy food options. The Great Places 2020 program promotes walkability, increased community activity, and public green spaces, all of which add to the social cohesion of selected areas.

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Appendix

PROPOSED UPDATE: BECDD – SEVEN SYSTEM ELEMENTS (AS OF MARCH 2017)

1. **ELEMENT ONE: SYSTEM GOVERNANCE.** A structured and functioning public-private governance system comprised of representative community development stakeholder/leaders as equal partners; collaboratively shepherding the entire system, designing new initiatives, and advocating for community development as an important strategy for Detroit neighborhoods. **[FORMERLY “STAKEHOLDER CONSORTIUM”; MOVED “ADVOCACY” ROLE TO THIS ELEMENT]**
2. **ELEMENT TWO: SYSTEM CAPITALIZATION.** A strategy to assure public-private systemic resources for community development work including operating support for CDOs, capacity building for CDOs and Grass Roots Organizations, access to shared organizational services, data and evaluation services; and low-cost debt and grant capital for community development projects. **[SEPARATED THIS FUNCTION FROM GOVERNANCE]**
3. **ELEMENT THREE: DATA AND EVALUATION.** Accessible neighborhood level data, research on best CD practices, and an evaluation system; all geared toward the achievement of consensus Neighborhood Success Measures **[SAME AS “SUCCESS MEASURES, DATA AND EVALUATION”]**
4. **ELEMENT FOUR: CITY ENGAGEMENT.** City government support for community development through the recognition of certified CDOs for each City Council District, the provision of CDBG support, and ongoing partnerships with CDOs to help fulfill the city’s Master Plan. **[SAME]**
5. **ELEMENT FIVE: ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY BUILDING AND CERTIFICATION.** Systematic access to training, technical assistance, coaching, peer support, and development of CDOs as “conveners/facilitators” in every neighborhood. Support to Grass Roots Organizations to facilitate their important role. With a corresponding system to improve CDO effectiveness by developing CDO performance standards and validating CDOs as conveners, as well as CDOs/other organizations to perform the identified critical Community Development Roles in every neighborhood. **[COMBINED CDO AND GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZATION CAPACITY BUILDING]**
6. **ELEMENT SIX: NEIGHBORHOOD VOICE.** A system to build cross-sector relationships and trust within every neighborhood, then leveraging those relationships to create an influential city-wide neighborhood voice for Detroit. **[FORMERLY “RELATIONSHIP BUILDING” BUT MOVED CD ADVOCACY ROLE TO SYSTEM GOVERNANCE]**
7. **ELEMENT SEVEN: LEADERSHIP/CAREER PIPELINE.** A number of different easily-accessible academic/credentialing tracks and academic “placements,” starting in middle/high school, for aspiring and current community development practitioners to pursue to generate a robust pipeline of practitioners, especially those of color from Detroit. **[FORMERLY “ACADEMIC AND CAREER TRACKS”]**